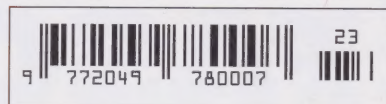


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January-February 2016

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State of hate 2015



Extremism in the UK and Europe

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INSIDE

- 4-5 **Executive Summary**
- 6-7 **Defining extremism:** Definitions:
Right, Far-Right, Outside Right and...
Just Trying To Be Populist By Cas Mudde
- 8-13 **Far right overview**
- 14 **Top 10 influential fascists**
- 15 **Far right demos**
- 16-19 **Far right parties:** Britain First,
British National Party, British Voice,
British Democratic Party, National Front,
New Dawn Party
- 20-21 **Extreme Right:** Combat 18, Racial
Volunteer Force, Blood and Honour,
British Movement
- 22-25 **Tiny Groups:** National Action,
Misanthropic Division, New British Union,
Right Wing Resistance, Legion Martial
Arts Club, A.K. Chesterton Trust,
Friends of Oswald Mosley, League of
St George, Northern Patriotic Front,
The Sons of St George, Liberty GB
- 26-27 **Think tanks:** IONA London Forum,
New Right, British Renaissance,
Traditional Britain Group
- 28-29 **Magazines/Publishers:** Mjolnir, Heritage
and Destiny, Historical Review Press,
Western Spring, Black House Publishing,
Focal Point Publishing / David Irving
- 30-31 **Defence leagues:** English Defence
League, South East Alliance, The Infidels
- 32 **Pegida**
- 33 **Britain's Counter-Jihad scene**
- 34-36 **UKIP:** The roller coaster fortunes of UKIP
- 37 **New blood:** the growing presence of the
Polish group NOP
- 38-39 **Muslim Extremism:** an introduction
- 40 **Islamist groups:** Hizb ut-Tahrir
- 41 **Comment:** The non-violent narrative for
violent extremism by Sara Khan
- 42 **Islamist groups:** Al-Muhajiroun
- 43 **Islamist groups:** Hate preachers
- 44-47 **International overview**
- 48-51 **Essay:** War and Peace at Europe's
borders By Liz Fekete
- 52-53 **Refugee crisis map**
- 54-67 **Europe guide:** Baltics, Scandinavia,
Eastern Europe, Balkans, Central Western
Europe, Western Europe, Mediterranean

STATE OF HATE 2015



HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 150,000 followers on Facebook.

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HOPE not hate

WELCOME to the 2015 State of Hate Report, our annual review of hate politics in the UK and across Europe. In a departure from previous reports, we have devoted this entire edition of HOPE not hate magazine to the State of Hate, allowing us to go into greater detail and analysis.

This year's report has been compiled against a backdrop of increasingly depressing political circumstances. The refugee crisis – the largest movement of people ever across Europe – and the terrorist attacks in Paris, have contributed to an atmosphere of mounting antipathy to immigrants and a growing fear and suspicion of Muslims.

Attitudes are hardening and, in response, virtually every government across Europe is pulling up the drawbridges and trying to discourage refugees and migrants from crossing its borders.

Against this bleak political backdrop, readers might be surprised to learn that Britain's far right continues to be isolated and in retreat. Splintered and fractured, the far right is leaderless and rudderless. However, because of all this, it is becoming more extreme and violent, a trend we believe will continue over the coming year.

This report charts the fortunes of Britain's far right groups, assessing individual organisations and profiling the movement's leaders but also estimating the trends shaping the movement and its future direction.

It also explores the state of hate across Europe, both investigating the rising anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies by EU Governments but also profiling the main far right organisations in each country.

In a new development from previous reports, we also examine Islamist extremism. Many of these groups and individuals push as divisive and hateful an agenda as any far right group. HOPE not hate believes that we need to be consistent in our approach and challenge extremism and hate in whatever guise they manifest themselves.

Looking ahead to 2016, HOPE not hate believes the political situation will worsen, fuelled by an even bigger refugee crisis this summer and rising anti-immigrant rhetoric from the press, broadcasting media and politicians ahead of a likely referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union (EU) in June.

While we believe there is unlikely to be any significant political advance by Britain's far right, there is likely to be more violence and agitation that could test social cohesion and stability.

The impact of the EU referendum is likely to be felt well beyond the actual vote with HOPE not hate fearing that UKIP does to Labour what the SNP did to Labour in Scotland. This, coupled with rising anti-immigrant rhetoric in the media and anti-Muslim agitation by street-active groups like Pegida and Britain First, is likely to make 2016 a very difficult year.

Nick Lowles

Executive Summary

The political and economic conditions for support for right wing extremist groups could hardly be better and yet the far right in Britain is politically marginalised, divided, leaderless and increasingly violent. This is partly because UKIP has moved to the right since 2013 with its increasingly anti-immigrant rhetoric and offered a more respectable home for former BNP voters but it is also because of the failings and shortcomings of the far right groups themselves.

However, while the impact of the British far right continues to decline, it is becoming more violent.

Organisation/Numbers/Groups

- The numbers involved in Britain's far right continue to decline, mainly because of the ongoing demise of the British National Party (BNP) and the English Defence League (EDL). However, the numbers involved in more militant and violent groups are growing.
- The 2015 General Election highlighted the political impotence of Britain's far right, with only 29 far right candidates standing and an average vote of just 1%. The BNP stood just 8 candidates in 2015, compared with the 338 it stood in 2010.
- The far right is increasingly splintered, with many of the larger organisations splitting and fracturing during 2015. This was the case with the BNP, EDL and the National Front.
- The weaknesses of a fractured movement are recognised by many of the groups themselves and this has led to a greater desire to work together, though more through joint actions than merging groups.
- There is a real lack of leadership within today's far right and that is contributing to its underlying weaknesses.
- The rising militancy of the British far right owes less to new recruits joining than a growing radicalisation of existing far right activists who are self-radicalising and so moving to more extreme organisations or becoming demoralised by the ineffectiveness of more mainstream far right organisations and thus seeking a more confrontational approach.
- 2015 saw a rise in violent clashes between far right activists and anti-fascists and this is likely to continue into 2016 as each violent incident brings in new people attracted by confrontation.
- Our previous *State of Hate* report revealed that the movement's three key leaders (Nick Griffin, Jim Dowson and Stephen Lennon) had all – voluntarily or forced – withdrawn from frontline leadership roles during 2014. This report reveals that all three have attempted to make political comebacks in 2015 with varying degrees of success.
- Foreign-born far right supporters, living in the UK, are becoming increasingly active, both by getting involved in British far right activities but also by organising their own events.

- Linked to the growing violence, 2015 saw more far right activists getting involved in survivalist and outdoor training and martial arts groups.

Wider Trends

- 2015 saw a continuing escalation of anti-Muslim politics and its increasing dominance in far right ideology and activity. While attacking Muslims is of course nothing new, the 2015 migrant crisis and the Islamist terror attack in Paris brought immigration and the cultural battle with Islam together in a toxic mix. As a consequence, anti-Muslim hatred is moving from the fringes to the political mainstream, its language and rhetoric often now adopted by political leaders and sections of the mainstream media.
- This mainstreaming of anti-Muslim hatred coupled with the more general anti-immigration rhetoric from politicians and media is increasingly giving the far right's "reasoning" both legitimacy and encouragement which will only further embolden it over the coming year.
- The British far right is increasingly trying to link up with like-minded groups and individuals internationally, partly because of the rising number of European extremists living in the UK and because of the internet and the rapid flow of ideas and stories but also because anti-Muslim hatred is a transnational cultural battle.
- The rising militancy of Britain's far right will lead to greater violence in 2016 that could be manifested in three ways: a general increase in anti-left wing harassment and attacks; communal violence where gangs of far right supporters clash with Muslim or Eastern European youths or, in extreme cases, terrorism.
- The underlying rhetoric of much of Britain's far right is that conflict – either between Muslims and non-Muslims or more generally with immigrant communities – is inevitable. For some, that means preparing for it or, even, encouraging it.

Government's anti-extremism strategy

- We believe that there are serious flaws in the Government's anti-extremism strategy. Despite lofty rhetoric about opposing all extremism equally, the authorities remain too focused on the threat from Islamist extremism while displaying a poor understanding of the changing nature of the far right threat and fail to fully appreciate how far right and Islamist extremism feed off one another and how each uses the existence of the other to justify their own warped worldview.
- The conviction of far right extremist Zack Davies last year shows how the police and Crown Prosecution Service treat right-wing violence differently from Islamist extremism.

Stephen Lennon/Pegida UK

- HOPE not hate believes that Stephen Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson) is the one person who could reverse the fortunes of Britain's far right due to his name and reputation, his confrontational approach, the ease with which he engages with the media and because, unlike the traditional far right, he opposes racial nationalism and his focus on the threat of Islam, has far greater resonance in society.
- However, tactical mistakes, a disinterest in organisational movement building and a failure to match his mainstreaming ideas with finding people untainted with extremism or violence means that his new Pegida UK group will struggle to make much impact under its current form.

EU Referendum

- While HOPE not hate does not take a position on the forthcoming referendum on European Union (EU) membership, we are concerned that the campaign will be dominated by the issue of immigration. Nigel Farage's recent comments, following the appalling sexual assaults on women in Cologne on New Year's Eve, that **leaving the European Union would further the fight for "the safety and security of British women"** plays to a traditional far right myths about the immigrant threat to "our girls".
- We understand that the EU vote is, for many, a cultural battle for the type of Britain we want to live in. A significant number of those wanting to leave the EU – though, of course, not everyone – are doing so because they want a Britain with a greatly reduced immigration population.
- There is a danger that UKIP will do to Labour in the north of England and Midlands what the SNP did in Scotland and emerge out of a referendum – especially if it loses – with far greater support.
- As a consequence of these two issues, and whipped up by sections of the British media, we believe that anti-immigrant rhetoric will dominate the EU referendum and this will encourage far right extremist groups, most likely playing out in local communities through increased racism and even violence.

Conclusion

Britain's far right will continue to be politically marginalised but the combination of mounting public concern over immigration, the fear of Islamist terrorism, the EU referendum and a growing confrontational approach will mean an increase in violence and potential communal clashes.

However, while far right groups, **through their provocative and confrontational actions, could help spark conflict, it is radical right, populist-style, groups, like UKIP and the AfD in Germany that will reap the political rewards.**

Definitions: Right, Far-Right, Outside Right and... Just Trying To Be Populist

By Cas Mudde

Regarding the far right, the general understanding seems to be that we know *who* they are even if we don't know exactly *what* they are. Even if this were to be true for each individual, it certainly doesn't hold true at the general level. People disagree on what defines the far right, who its members are, and what term is best to use. Not surprisingly, these questions are related, even if many people are not necessarily aware of it.

What I will lay out here is *my* conceptual framework, an integrated collection of related but separate terms and definitions that are most often used with regard to the topic at hand, which I developed in more detail in my book *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). It must be clear from the start that, although there are colleagues who roughly agree with this framework, many more do not. There is no consensus on terminology and there never will be.

The overarching term I use is *far right*, which encompasses both the extreme right and the radical right. The main difference between extremism and radicalism is the attitude towards democracy. Extremism fundamentally opposes democracy, defined minimally as popular sovereignty and majority rule. In other words, extremists don't believe that the people should elect their leaders.

The *extreme right* comes in many shapes, from aristocrats to theocrats, but the most important subgroup is fascism. Fascism is fundamentally anti-democratic, generally believing in the *Führerprinzip* (leadership principle) instead. For fascists, all men are not created equal, not *between* nations/races, but also not *within* nations. Hitler and Mussolini were considered superior to other Germans and Italians and that is why they were destined to be their leaders, irrespective of majority rule. National Socialism (Nazism) is often considered as a subtype of fascism, standing out for the centrality of its antisemitism and racism.

It has become customary to use the terms fascism and Nazism only for the movements of the early 20th century and to add the prefix *neo* to similar movements in the post-war era. However, these groups are often only new in terms of them, and their members, being born after 1945. Ideologically, they subscribe *grosso modo* to the old fascist/Nazi ideology. There are only a few groups that have truly tried to modernize classic fascist ideologies, as such truly developing a neo-fascist ideology – the Italian group Casa Pound is a prime example. Most others, particularly the various so-called neo-Nazi groups, including the Greek party Golden Dawn (at least in its initial stage), are more accurately described as Nazi than neo-Nazi, at

least in terms of their ideology.

The term *radical right* is best used for right-wing ideologies that accept democracy, i.e. popular sovereignty and majority rule, but oppose some fundamental values of liberal democracy, notably minority rights and pluralism. The most relevant subgroup within the radical right is the *populist radical right*, which includes almost all relevant far right parties today, including the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), the Danish People's Party (DF), the Front National (FN), the Party for Freedom (PVV) in the Netherlands and the Swiss People's Party (SVP). What all these parties have in common is a core ideology that combines nativism, authoritarianism and populism.

Simply stated, nativism entails a combination of nationalism and xenophobia. It is an ideology that holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (the nation) and that non-native (or alien) elements, whether persons or ideas, are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state. It is best summarized in the infamous slogan "Germany for the Germans, Foreigners Out!"

Authoritarianism refers to the belief in a strictly ordered society, in which infringements of authority are to be punished severely. This translates into strict law and order policies, which call for more police with greater



Combat 18

Combat 18



National Action



London Forum



Blood and Honour



Infidels



National Front



New Dawn Party



Racial Volunteer Force



British National Party

EXTREME RIGHT



competencies and less political involvement in the judiciary. Often crime and immigration are directly connected; such as, for example, in the PVV slogan "More safety, less immigration."

Populism, finally, is an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, the pure people and the corrupt elite, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. Populist radical right politicians claim to be *vox populi* (the voice of the people) and accuse the established parties of being in cahoots with each other – as aptly captures in the FN's reference to "UMPS," a combination of the abbreviations of the party names of the (former) centre-

right UMP and centre-left PS.

This still leaves one key term to be defined: *right*.

Although the distinction between left and right is essential to virtually any discussion about politics, both terms are used in various ways and their meanings have changed drastically in the past centuries. Initially referring to supporters (left) and opponents (right) of the French Revolution, the terms became more linked to the secular versus religious in the 19th century and the state versus market in the 20th century. Today the latter socio-economic dimension is still predominant, but it is increasingly combined with a socio-cultural dimension relating to an ever-growing range of attitudes and issues – including European integration and immigration.

Most of these dimensions are captured in the definitions of the Italian philosopher Norberto Bobbio, who sees the key distinction between left and right in the view of (in)equality: the *left* considers the key inequalities between people to be artificial and negative, which should be overcome by an active state, whereas the *right* believes that the main inequalities between people are natural and positive, and to be defended by the state.

Within a UK context, groups like Blood & Honour (B&H) and Combat 18 (C18) represent the extreme right, while the English Defence League (EDL) represents the radical right. The main far right political parties in the UK, which are all electorally irrelevant these days, fall somewhere between the extreme and the radical right. While the British National Party (BNP) and National Front (NF) are not openly opposed to democracy, which would create legal problems, their tolerance of antisemitism, racism, and violence are indications of extreme right leanings.

The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), finally, is also a borderline case but between the (mainstream) right and the radical right. While there is no doubt about the party's authoritarianism and populism, it remains unclear whether its nativism is purely strategic, i.e. used only for electoral gain, or has become ideological too, perhaps even a core ideological feature.

■ **Cas Mudde** is associate professor in the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia (USA).



British Voice/BDP



Britain First



South East Alliance



English Defence League

PEGIDA

Pegida



Traditional Britain Group



English Democrats



UK Independence Party

RADICAL RIGHT

MAINSTREAM RIGHT

STATE OF HATE

FAR RIGHT OVERVIEW

North West
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Smaller but more violent The far right in 2015

The political and economic conditions could not be better for Britain's far right. Why, then, is it doing so badly?

HOPE not hate explores the fortunes of Britain's far right in 2015.

2015 WAS A YEAR of violence and humiliations for the British far right, the general election proving its political impotency, the EDL continuing its steady decline into oblivion and, while the number of far right demonstrations increased, especially in the north of England, the overall numbers involved in the far right declining.

The year was best summed up by the spectacle, in August, of National Action (NA) activists scrambling to pull down the shutters of Liverpool Lime Street's left luggage office in a bid to save themselves from pursuing anti-fascists.

On the surface, it really should not be like this. Difficult economic conditions and austerity policies, compounded by

the refugee crisis which has resulted in the biggest ever movement of refugees into Europe, have produced a toxic mix that the far right should have exploited and prospered from.

Similarly, the terrorist attacks in Paris, coupled with feared attacks in Belgium and Germany, have fed the worries of homegrown Jihadism and even of the incompatibility of Islam with Western Civilisation.

Despite all this, 2015 was not a good year for Britain's far right.

The key political event of 2015 was May's General Election but whereas the BNP contested it properly in 2010, saving its deposit in 73 constituencies, this time its results hardly registered. The party

stood a mere 8 candidates, compared with 338 in 2010, averaging just 0.44% of the vote. Nowhere did the party score even 1% of the vote in what turned out to be its worst result since 1987.

A significant reason for the far right's disastrous showing was UKIP which stole the media limelight and most of the BNP's voters. While it one won one parliamentary seat, over four million people voted for the party and gained 14% of the national vote.

It would be wrong to attribute the far right's failure entirely to UKIP as internal infighting, poor leadership and an identity crisis over the very future of racial nationalism have greatly affected the movement's fortunes.

Knock-on effect

The ramifications of the BNP's decline continue to have significant effect on the far right scene. It is almost hard to imagine now but, in 2010, it seemed that it stood a very real chance of breaking out of the marginalised political ghetto and into the mainstream like no other far right party in the post-war period. Yet, it was not to be and the years that followed have been increasingly schismatic, resulting in the rapid and dramatic decline of the party into a state of near irrelevance.

At its height the BNP was a dominant and almost monolithic force within the movement but its decline has resulted in a more diffuse scene made up of numerous small and often irrelevant groupuscules scrabbling for influence and members.

2015 saw the further splintering of the BNP with numerous new breakaway groups, most notably towards the end of the year when Jack Sen left to form British Renaissance, taking with him sections of the party's North West and London branches.

To find a comparable period when the British far right lacked any predominant party and was splintered to this extent one has to go back to before the National Front's formation in 1967.

This has not gone unnoticed within

Self-radicalising

Several of the NWI leaders now openly align themselves to the nazi group Combat 18 and regularly display C18 flags, wear C18 balaclavas and C18 facemasks on demonstrations. The official NWI flag now carries the fire-breathing dragon, which is used by C18 leaders internationally across Europe, including C18 leader Will Browning, who uses it as his Facebook profile picture.

Leader Shane Calvert has even posed outside Buckingham Palace with his C18 flag.



the movement itself and talk of the need for new alliances is getting louder. However, the often-bitter disputes and splits that have so devastated the BNP are still relatively recent making any attempts at greater cooperation in 2016 difficult.

These problems are exacerbated by the absence of a credible and respected prospective leader, something that would be essential to bringing the nationalist movement back together and out of the wilderness.

Combined, these factors go some way to explaining why the British far right – unlike some other far right parties in Europe – has been so unsuccessful.

In addition to affecting the makeup of the far right, the BNP's demise, coupled with the simultaneous rise of UKIP, has altered the nature of the scene as it has become more polarised.

The BNP's earlier successes meant that it could hold together a broad church of activists ranging from the far right of the

Tory party through to the fascists and nazis that make up the extreme far right of the political spectrum.

With the BNP's demise, those former members from the extreme wing of the party, many of whom have formed and found homes in groups like the British Democratic Party, have dropped the moderate façade demanded of them by the BNP's modernisation programme. While tolerated when the tactic seemed to be garnering electoral success, it has been increasingly jettisoned.

The result is that a number of the BNP splinter groups active last year were more markedly extreme than the BNP had been.

UKIP's rise has accelerated this rightward shift in two ways. Firstly, a section of the BNP's more moderate supporters made their way over to UKIP leaving the BNP and its splinter groups with just the more radical and extreme elements.

Then, with UKIP setting up camp on a portion of the electoral landscape previously occupied by the BNP, the far right sought to distinguish itself by shifting back towards its more traditional, and extreme, homeland, a move that deposed BNP chief Nick Griffin supported.

The decline of the BNP and the rise of UKIP have thus brought a halt to the UK far right's modernisation programme and seen the jettisoning of the moderate stance.

In addition, large portions of the far right have become disillusioned with electoral politics all together.

Table: BNP elections results 1983-2015

Year	Number of candidates	Total votes	Average votes per candidate	Percentage of vote	Saved deposits*
1983	53	14,621	276	0	0
1987	2	553	277	0	0
1992	13	7,631	587	0.1	0
1997	56	35,832	640	0.1	3
2001	33	47,129	1,428	0.2	7
2005	119	192,746	1,620	0.7	34
2010	338	563,743	1,668	1.9	73
2015	8	1,667	208	0	0

Even Griffin, formerly the leading advocate of the tactic, did a *volte-face* in 2015 declaring: "It is time for radical nationalists to learn from the success of the left that has come from their clear recognition that 'There Is No Parliamentary Road to Socialism'".

In some ways, the internal discussion regarding the validity of the electoral route to power is purely academic, a point explained in *Heritage and Destiny*, the leading UK-based racial nationalist newspaper: "While nationalists continue to debate the value of electoral campaigning, in practise the decision seems to have been resolved (at least for the time being) by the sheer inability of our various parties to organise candidates anywhere outside literally a handful of viable branches."

More Splintered and More Extreme

2015 also saw the continuing decline in the English Defence League, which was now a mere shadow of its former self.

The group held twelve demonstrations throughout the year, down from twenty-five in 2014, with the largest being just 150-strong. Most demonstrations were considerably smaller.

This situation compares with the 3,000 who marched in Newcastle in 2013, admittedly just after the murder of Lee Rigby, but also the 2,500 who marched in Stoke-on-Trent in 2010 and the 2,000 in Dudley in the same year.

The EDL's decline began some time before founder and former leader Stephen Lennon walked out but last year saw a demoralised and faction-riven leadership slip further into oblivion. National organiser Dave Bolton was ousted, not before debilitating faction fighting and resignations, and others jumped ship when it was clear that former leader Stephen Lennon was making a political comeback.

In reality, however, he had never lost contact with several EDL activists, including West Midlands-based Steve Eddows and the EDL's "security team" who were merely treading water in the EDL until their former leader returned.

A far more worrying development in 2015 was the continuing growth and militancy of the Infidels, a network of regional fascist gangs pursuing a far more confrontational and violent agenda. Most prominent amongst the Infidels groups is the North West Infidels (NWI), led by Blackburn-based thug Shane Calvert.

With about 25 in its core and another 15-20 in a wider periphery, the NWI is one of the most active of these groups. During 2015, it organised or supported twelve demonstrations, twice the number of the previous year.



▲ National Action supporters take cover in the left luggage office at Liverpool Lime Street station. This defeat was a humiliation for the group.

The NWI was involved in several serious clashes with left wing opponents, in addition to its general harassment and intimidation of trade unionists and anti-UKIP campaigners across the region.

Others in the Infidel network include the North East Infidels (North East), the Valley Front Line Firm (South Wales), the South East Alliance and a small gang in the Coventry area, led by Tommy Law. Nationally, they have a combined core of 150 violent and confrontational people. The NWI is closely aligned to the National Front, attending many of their events and sharing some activists.

The most violent confrontation of 2015 was NA's "White Man March" in Liverpool, which ended in utter humiliation for the group as its supporters were forced to take shelter in Liverpool Lime Street station's left luggage department.

The Liverpool debacle severely damaged the reputation of a group that had captured media headlines in 2014 and re-confirmed the view of the group by others on the far right, including NWI, that it was just a bunch of brash kids without much backbone.

NA appears to be the most organisationally sophisticated far right group on the scene currently, however, having its own internal internet forum and highly guarded public fora with many of its activists using fake personalities to engage online. It is also the only UK far right group to make active use of the Dark Web.

While this type of online behaviour

and encrypted security is now quite common amongst environmental and anti-capitalist organisations, it is unique on the British far right.

Survivalism

The growing radicalisation and militancy of the far right, coupled with the humiliation and bruised faces from Liverpool has led to rising participation in survivalist and martial arts training.

Among the groups offering this training are Misanthropic Division and Legion, formerly known as Sigurd Legion. The former is led by Francesco Saverio Fontana, a former member of the fascist Azov Battalion in Ukraine

▼ US nazi Matthew Heimbach was banned from entering the UK by Home Secretary in November 2015 after officials were alerted to his planned visit on a HOPE not hate blog.



and a member of the Italian nazi group, Casa Pound, and involves Jimmy Hay, a MMA trainer who runs a gym in Greater Manchester.

Legion is led by Craig Fraser and a video of one of its camps, held in Wales, shows two men stripped to the waist pummelling each other as they practice unarmed combat and others training with knives.

In his book *Centurion Method*, Fraser tells his followers: "Violence is the key to manhood, a man who cannot do violence, either to himself, his comrades or his enemies is a dead man...Practice violence then, harm yourself, experience pain, practice the traditions of the day, learn to hunt, to kill, to maim and to dominate in battle."

NA, the NWI and unaligned activists are among the 80-100 people who went through these training camps during 2015.

Flops

It has not all been plain sailing for the more militant end of the far right, with some older activists and groups being on the slide. 2015 was a bad year for Eddie Stampton, a veteran nazi who has been through a plethora of groups in recent years. He became increasingly marginalised and isolated after falling out with virtually everyone.

Also on the decline is the Racial Volunteer Force, led by former Combat 18 activist Mark Atkinson. With Stampton, Atkinson was heavily involved in a bid to march through the heavily Jewish area of Golders Green, in north London, last summer. Forced to change their plans after widespread community opposition, just twenty-seven nazis ended up marching in central London instead.

The National Front also suffered serious splits within its ranks and towards the end of the year Kevin Bryan resigned as leader. Just a hundred people, compared with three hundred in 2014, attended the NF's annual Remembrance Sunday demonstration.

The NF's new leader is Scottish and that alone is deemed unacceptable to many party members.

Britain First's year was one of stagnation. Its huge social media footprint was not translated into any growth in offline activism and the group failed to mobilise more than two hundred people for any single event.

Party leader Paul Golding appeared more obsessed about selling merchandise but even this appeared to be on the wane as the year wore on.

One growth area during 2015 was the far right intellectual think tanks, especially the London Forum, led by former British Army Corps of Signals officer Jeremy 'Jez' Turner. The group has attracted leading national socialists, Holocaust deniers and conspiracy theorists from across the globe to its meetings. More significantly, the Forum, and in particular Turner and his side kick Larry Nunn, have become increasingly influential on the far right, especially with NA.

One foreign speaker who never made it to a British Renaissance luncheon was US Nazi Matthew Heimbach, who was barred from entering the UK by Home Secretary Theresa May in November 2015.

In last year's *State of Hate* review we reflected on the loss of the movement's three most prominent figures, former BNP leader Nick Griffin, EDL founder Stephen Lennon and Britain First's Chairman Jim Dowson. All three tried to make a comeback in 2015.

Griffin and Dowson tried to rekindle a formerly successful working relationship, but this time solely for their own personal benefit. In connection with the Italian fascist Roberto Fiore, the pair began establishing contacts with Russian extremists in the hope of getting funding for their projects back home.

When that proved unsuccessful, Dowson took to hawking Griffin around dusty old churches in central and eastern Europe building relationships with Catholic anti-

abortionists worried about the influx of non-Christian migrants.

Meanwhile, Lennon was released from prison for his mortgage fraud conviction and set about re-establishing himself in the Counter-Jihad world. As part of a bid, with Anne Marie Waters, to make her Sharia Watch UK a financial lucrative operation, Lennon sought out Dowson to join the business and run the online operation.

Of course, it all went horribly wrong. Lennon, Waters and Alan Ayling (*aka* Alan Lake) spilled the beans about their plan to hold a "Muhammad cartoon" event in the UK in order to provoke a violent reaction. Dowson, who genuinely believed the plot was so mad that it could have been a police entrapment, immediately went public to denounce them.

The resulting publicity, following the publication of a HOPE not hate report, forced Lennon to back away from rejoining the fray but this proved to be just temporary as within a couple of months he began building a relationship with the faltering Pegida movement in Germany.

Of the three, Lennon has best chance of making 2016 a success. Not only is he more of a household name and media savvy but Counter-Jihadism is, in the present circumstances, far more likely to have resonance than either the racial nationalism of Griffin or the conspiratorial anti-Islam and anti-Zionist rhetoric of the Christian evangelical Dawson.

However, it would appear that Lennon's stock is not as high as he thinks. If he really believes that he can build a respectable middle-class movement, like Pegida, in the UK, he is badly mistaken. Not only is he badly damaged goods but the people who he has surrounded himself with in the Pegida leadership – Paul Weston and Anne Maria Waters – are both politically extreme and unlikely to attract any normal people.

Muslims and Transnational Cooperation

A major trend that was accelerated and cemented in 2015 was the shift of anti-Muslim politics to the top of the British far rights agenda. There are of course exceptions to this with a number of small groups who, while not wanting Muslims in the UK, see common cause with Muslims and the Palestinian cause because of their visceral, and often conspiratorial, antisemitism.

However, in the last decade or so a significant shift has occurred as anti-Muslim hatred has increasingly dominated the British far right's ideology.

While attacking Muslims is nothing new, the 2015 migrant crisis and the



▲ Tommy Robinson in Utrecht bei Pegida Nederland 11.10.15



Convicted: Joshua Bonehill-Paine

22-year-old Joshua Bonehill-Paine was convicted for three years for inciting racial hatred after he published antisemitic material online. He was described in court as "an extremist" who had expressed "virulently racist views in respect to the Jewish community".

Bonehill-Paine was well-known for harassing opponents online and had become increasingly extreme and aggressive in his online postings.

Convicted in 2015: Zack Davies

26-year-old Zack Davies were convicted for life for the attempted murder of Dr Sarande Bhambra with an axe in a Tesco shop in north Wales. Davies claimed that the attack was revenge for the death of the soldier Lee Rigby, who was killed by Islamist extremists outside a barracks in south-east London.

Davies had recently joined National Action, though he had a five-year history in engaging with far right groups online.



Islamic State's mass murder in Paris have confirmed it as the undisputed number one issue for most of the movement.

For some groups, such as the EDL and Britain First, Islamophobia forms the core of their ideology and dominates everything they do.

They form what we describe as the "Counter-Jihad" movement. There are other groups, though, who outwardly make anti-Muslim hatred central to their rhetoric while internally continuing to

perceive the Jews as the real threat.

If anti-Muslim hatred is becoming ever more common on the far right so traditional racial nationalism – as espoused by groups like the BNP and the NF – is struggling to find traction. Not only is Counter-Jihadism now dominant but fewer Britons can remotely envisage a "white-only" society.

The Counter-Jihad ideology is more internationalist in its outlook. Unlike the traditional belief that the enemy,

namely the Jews, is within, the far right increasingly views the threat as external, namely Islam and Muslims.

More activists and organisations, especially within the Counter-Jihad movement, perceive the threat to be the "Islamisation" of Europe or the West.

While lamenting the presence of Muslims and Islam within Britain, already there is a general feeling – deepened by the 2015 migrant crisis – that Muslims are invading and conquering Europe as a whole. This has led to increasing attempts to forge genuinely transnational coalitions such as the failed European Defence Leagues and now the "international" Pegida movement announced in late 2015.

This internationalisation was also evident beyond the Counter-Jihad movement with the New Right, a UK-based far right pseudo-think-tank, entertaining an unprecedented number of speakers from across Europe and North America.

Whether this trend will continue throughout 2016 is hard to say. In terms of the Counter-Jihad movement, primarily a cultural rather than racial nationalist ideology, international cooperation is a central aspect of its plan of resistance.

The Mainstreaming of Far Right Rhetoric

One of the most disturbing trends of 2015 was the seeming normalisation of far right rhetoric, especially in connection immigration and Muslims. With the rise of ISIS, terrorism in Paris and the migrant crisis, the traditional language and even policies of the far right became worryingly mainstream.

Rhetoric and behaviour that was once the preserve of the out-and-out extremists has now become increasingly mainstreamed.

Papers such as *The Express*, *Sun* and *Daily Mail* have published articles on the refugee crisis that would not have been out of place in the propaganda of the BNP or the NF. Notable low points included Katie Hopkins' *Sun* article describing migrants as a "plague of feral humans" and claiming that "Some of our towns are festering sores, plagued by swarms of migrants and asylum seekers".

Another low was the *Daily Mail* cartoon that portrayed migrants as rats swarming across the border in an image not just reminiscent of but very close to the Nazi antisemitic propaganda of the 1930s.

PM David Cameron, too, hit the depths describing migrants as "swarm". While the far right is more marginalised and ignored than it has been in decades its ideas now have an all-too-evident resonance in the mainstream. ●

TOP 10 INFLUENTIAL FASCISTS

1 Stephen Lennon: The most high profile right-wing extremist in the UK today, Lennon is set to resurrect his political career with the launch of Pegida UK. Possibly the only person on the British far right who can breathe life into an increasingly marginalised scene. His network is now spreading across Europe.

2 Jeremy Bedford-Turner: A former officer in the Royal Corps of Signals, Turner runs the increasingly influential London Forum, a discussion group and clearing house for the resurrection of British fascist ideas.

3 Paul Golding: Golding leads Britain First, an internet outfit with over a million followers but with few actual activists. While his operation is little more than a money-making venture, its online presence captures media attention and ensures it gets considerable publicity.

4 Jim Dowson: The "King Maker" who made and then broke the BNP and formed and then deserted Britain First. Has fallen in with a European crowd of right-wing money men through links with Eastern European anti-abortion networks.

5 Shane Calvert: Leader of the violent drugs-gang, the "Infidels", Calvert has risen from being an English Defence League (EDL) foot soldier to heading a violent network of nazi thugs across Britain that seeks confrontation with its political opponents.

6 Paul Weston: The much maligned leader of the British Freedom Party and Liberty GB, the former UKIP man is set for a more high profile 2016 as the new leader of Pegida UK.

7 Nick Griffin: Former MEP and ex-leader of the British National Party (BNP). A figure of derision for many, Griffin still makes news and still carries a body of support longing for his return. The BNP's decline has increased his stock.

8 Larry Nunn: A moneyman responsible for igniting and re-energising debate on internet fora about the future of racial nationalism in the UK. Credited by the nazi National Action with encouraging and financing its project.

9 Clive Jefferson: The real powerhouse in what remains of the BNP, Cumbria-based Jefferson has more power and influence than party leader Adam Walker.

10 Richard Edmonds: Despite his advanced age, Edmonds remains a link to the once-mighty National Front and the once successful BNP and is increasingly important in far right think tanks such as the London Forum.

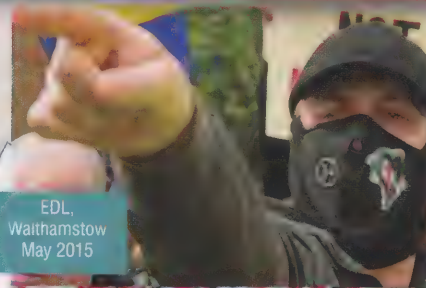


FAR-RIGHT DEMOS 2015

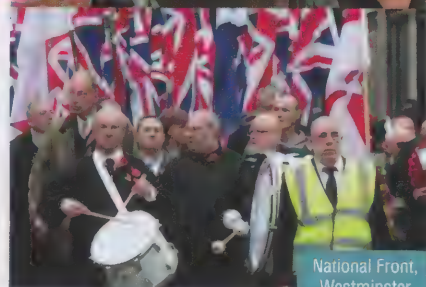
Location	Date	Group	Nums
Accrington	Aug	NWI	50
Aylesbury	Oct	EDL	100
Ayrshire	Dec	SDL / Infidels	100
Barnsley	Jun	South Yorkshire Casuals	40
Barnsley	Dec	BNP / South Yorkshire Casuals	30
Bishop Auckland	Jun	Against Islam / NWI	40
Blackburn	Apr	NWI	30
Blackpool	Nov	NWI / Renshaw	7
Blackpool	Apr	March for England	40
Bradford	Oct	EDL	60
Burton	Oct	Britain First	250
Chester	Dec	National Renaissance	70
Colchester	Sep	EDL	100
Dover	Jan	SEA / NF / EDL	40
Dover	Sep	NF / NWI / SEA	80
Dudley	Feb	EDL	100
Dudley	Aug	EDL	100
Dudley	Jun	Football Hooligans	150
Dudley	Sep	SEA / EDL / Infidels	n/a
Dudley	May	Britain First	200
Edinburgh	Mar	Pegida	4
London	Jul	New Dawn	8
London	Jul	Anti-Shomrim	15
London	Mar	Anti-Shomrim	15
London	Nov	National Front	100
London	Nov	New Dawn / NOP	25
London	Sep	BNP	3
London	Apr	Pegida	30
London	Dec	New Dawn	10
London	May	National Action	20
London	Sep	MARIAS	30
Liverpool	Aug	National Action	60
Luton	Jun	Britain First	150
Manchester	Jan	NWI	20
Manchester	Mar	NF / NWI	100
Manchester	Mar	EDL	150
Manchester	Aug	NF / NWI	100
Margate	Apr	SEA	12
Newcastle	Feb	Pegida	300
Newcastle	Mar	National Action	60
North Shields	Jul	EDL	n/a
Oldham	Feb	NWI / NF	20
Oxford	Apr	EDL	120
Preston	Oct	NWI / NF / SEA	60
Portsmouth	Nov	EDL	40
Rotherham	Mar	SEA / NF / EDL	60
Rotherham	May	SEA / NF / EDL	30
Rotherham	Jul	NF / NWI / NA / EDL	150
Rotherham	Jul	Britain First	20
Rotherham	Aug	Britain First	20
Rotherham	Sep	Britain First	150
Scarbrough	Nov	EDL	150
Sheffield	Nov	Britain First	50
Sheffield	Jul	EDL	50
Slough	Sep	Berkshire Infidels	n/a
Stockton	Jul	Infidels / EDL	100
Thirsk	Feb	National Front	15
Wakefield	Jul	National Front	80
Washington	Jan	Infidels	60
Walthamstow	May	EDL	70
Wigan	Sep	National Front / NWI	100

KEY

- NWI
- EDL
- SDL
- Infidels
- South Yorkshire Casuals
- BNP
- Against Islam
- March for England
- Britain First
- National Renaissance
- SEA
- National Front
- Football Hooligans
- Pegida
- New Dawn
- Anti-Shomrim
- National Action
- MARIAS

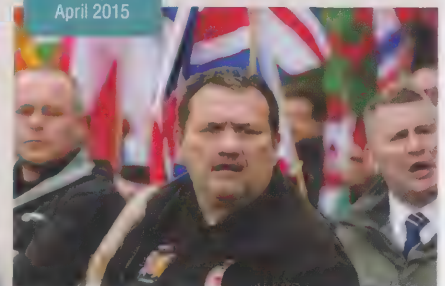


EDL,
Walthamstow
May 2015

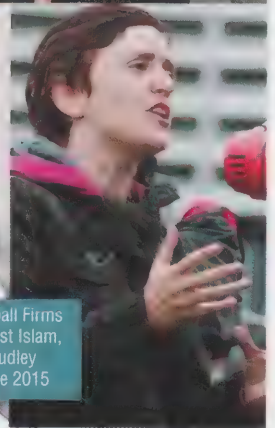


National Front,
Westminster
Remembrance
Sunday
November 2015

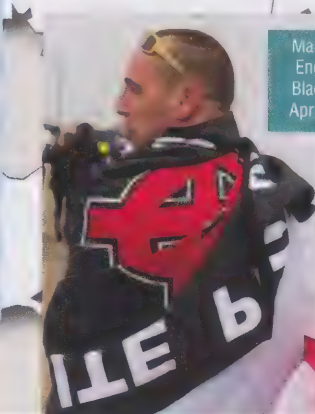
Britain First,
Regents Park
Mosque
April 2015



North West
Infidels, Preston
October 2015



Football Firms
against Islam,
Dudley
June 2015



March for
England,
Blackpool
April 2015

STATE OF HATE FAR RIGHT PARTIES

Britain First

Ideology:	Counter-Jihadist/Evangelical Christian/Nationalist
Membership:	Estimated at 800-1000 (though levels of activism and membership vary)
Leadership:	Paul Golding (leader), Jayda Fransen (deputy), Jim Dowson (tender)
Publications:	A bi-monthly newspaper called <i>Britain First</i> for which the group debits subscribers monthly
Online:	Website, Facebook and Twitter. The party now has over one million Facebook "likes"
Areas active:	Belfast, Burton, Bradford, Cardiff, Chesterfield, Coventry, Cumbernauld, Derby, Dover, Dudley, Dundee, Glasgow, London, Preston, Rotherham, Sheffield, Stoke, Thanet

Summary of 2015

Britain First was engulfed in utter confusion as to what it actually stood for. Is it a Counter-Jihadist street movement like the EDL, or is it an anti-immigration and anti-immigrant party like the BNP? Attempts to intertwine both are confusing for everyone, in particular for the group's active members.

The party's submission to the Electoral Commission was breathtakingly under-detailed and what could be gleaned from it is that Britain First is being driven almost solely for the personal and financial advantage of Golding and Fransen.

2015 was an extraordinary year of over-exposure in the media and yet, as with the year before, the party reaped few rewards. In part, this is down to the temperamental nature of its leadership and an inability to commit to serious political work.

Neither Golding nor Fransen seem clear or in agreement on where the party is heading. Having outshone both the competition in the British National Party (BNP) and the English Defence League (EDL) neither is certain which direction the group should take. The decision to not fight the General Election as a political party but to instead to offer their uniformed services to UKIP was both a financial and face-saving decision. The party is far too reliant on, and at the mercy of, social media for funding and publicity.

The reappearance of Jim Dowson, the group's founder, appears to confirm the party was in financial distress. Dowson also compounded the party's political instability by making demands that the group's utterances now be modelled on his own political and social activities.

Quite simply, outside of the realm of bought and paid for social media approval and improbable scare stories about its size and reach, Britain First left very little footprint that will not be expunged by the new Pegida UK or a by resurgent nationalist party.

Although the party ditched much of its paramilitary style and curtailed its mosque invasions and provocative street patrols, it failed to firm up its political credibility by continuing to look for cheap publicity and obsessing over its finances. Surprisingly, and perhaps to test Dowson's patience, the group did a Christian parade in East London near Christmas and were chased from the area by wary locals.

Golding and Fransen seem determined to push ahead

with demonstrations against the building of mosques, normally marching with wooden crucifixes, but the rumblings from their conference floor in November painted a picture of a growing unease among the membership with Golding's behaviour and egotism and the general air round lack of political engagement in favour of more "religious extremism." Dowson's interventions appear most unsettling (and unwelcomed by) the membership, too.

Having dragged Golding and Fransen into fruitless negotiations with Stephen Lennan that ended in acrimony and further bruised Golding's ego, Dowson's own utterances on abortion and women's rights are markedly out of step with former EDL activists inside the party. Dowson also imposed a Hungarian anti-abortionist on the party's annual conference for a near two-hour borefest.

Prospect for 2016

Golding is standing in the London Mayoral election and plans to campaign almost completely online. Britain First also faces an enormous test with the reappearance of Stephen Lennan, a far more assured and charismatic character than anything Britain First can offer the far right or the public. Pegida UK will be an enormous financial and political stress for BF and may force Golding further to the right and back into old BNP territory. Sources inside the party claim that it is not just Lennan's new group that may harm Britain First, but also Fransen's own ambitions.



Paul Golding at a Britain First protest outside Regent Park Mosque in April last year

Jayda Fransen (left) and Jim Dowson (right)

STATE OF HATE 2015

British National Party (BNP)

Ideology: Racial Nationalist/Fascist
Membership: 100-500 (BNP claims 3,000)
Leadership: Adam Walker (Chairman),
Clive Jefferson (Deputy Chairman)
Publications: Identity
Online: Main website, Facebook, Twitter (all complemented
by some regional and individual accounts
administered sporadically)
Areas active: Barnsley, Blackpool, Barnley, Barking & Dagenham,
(Essex), Bexleyheath, Croydon, London, Leeds,
Manchester, Poole, Rotherham, Salford, Stoke



Jack Sen (right) with BNP
Chairman Adam Walker and
Treasurer Clive Jefferson

Summary of 2015

It went from bad to worse for the party. They managed to stand only one more candidate (eight) than the National Front (NF) in the General Election, only managing this because Tess Cullum jumped ship from the NF at the last minute. The party was then humiliated in July when its star employee, Dawn Charlton, gave an extraordinary and revealing interview to HOPE not hate about drug abuse and financial mismanagement at the party's head office.

Adam Walker was finally confirmed as the party's new Leader although, as Charlton suggested, there were serious questions as to the tactics used by the leadership to ensure Walker was finally elected as Nick Griffin's replacement. The tactics more than the result led to another split. Those who stayed with the party after its messy separation from Griffin then watched in horror as expulsions and purges of even Walker/Jefferson loyalists continued.

Jack Sen, who joined the party briefly after being expelled from UKIP led a revolt against the leadership in September that captured most remaining organisers and activists in the north west. Rather foolishly (but not surprisingly) Walker also appointed the party's Treasurer, Clive Jefferson, as his deputy without an election. Although this is not unusual and is within the party's rules, it was seen as a snub by the party's London Regional Organiser, Steve Squire, who resigned his post in December, citing "cronyism" as the reason for his decision.

Walker's conference speech confirmed that he is not a man blessed with great oratorical skills or even a vocabulary. In desperation, the party has begun looking to autonomous former EDL groups to lead in anti-immigration activity. One such event took place in Barnsley in December where thirty hooligans were led on a pointless march around the town by local BNP thug Danny Cooke.

Prospect for 2016

The party will continue if only because there is still enough money in the kitty to pay wages to those who are now in control of it. No amount of humiliation and visible corruption will deter the party's leadership from continuing to behave in a manner that exiles and isolates what little support it has left amongst its membership.

The party also faces a series of legal challenges to expulsions made post-Griffin. Its first real test will be whether it can weather the storm in London and still mount a campaign for the London Mayoral election. The power and the money may well be jealously guarded in the north of the country, but for the first time in over a decade, the bulk of the remaining membership remains entrenched in the south.

In January of this year, the party was deregistered by the Electoral Commission after what the BNP termed a "small clerical error." It looked likely it would soon be re-registered however.



STATE OF HATE FAR RIGHT PARTIES (CONTINUED)

British Voice

Ideology: Racial Nationalist/Fascist/Conspiracist
Membership: 20
Leadership: Currently in dispute. Nominal leader is Mike Whitby
Publications: None
Online: Website and factional Facebook pages
Areas active: Merseyside, Tyneside

Summary of 2015

Much hilarity for anti-fascists as this tiny but nasty party imploded in vicious acrimony and warfare over a sum of money that was less than £100.00. Both factions (Merseyside-based Whitby is facing off against Martin Vaughn and Chris Thornton from the North East) then went out of their way to disrupt each other's annual conference.

Prospect for 2016

Martin Vaughn has recently launched an online forum for nationalist pets demonstrating that his party is going to the dogs.



(left) Mike Whitby
(right) Andrew Brons

British Democratic Party (BDP)

Ideology: Strasserite/ National Socialist
Membership: 15-20
Leadership: Andrew Brons (Chair), Jim Lewthwaite
Publications: Linked to *Heritage&Destiny*
Online: A website and a Facebook page. No longer makes any impression at all.
Areas active: Bradford, Dewsbury, Leicestershire, Preston, Redbridge

Summary of 2015

The party managed just one candidate in the 2015 general election and appears to have ground to a halt despite the best efforts of Lewthwaite and Brons. Despite our predictions, it made absolutely no gain from the further fracturing of the BNP. What remains of the party seems to divide its time attending various discussion groups, where it hopes to impose its greater intellect on discussions.

This must rank as a particularly distasteful fall from prominence for Andrew Brons who appears to have taken up residence as the main speaker at the annual John Tyndall memorial meeting – a man whom, in life, he despised – calling for “nationalist unity”.

Prospect for 2016

Fold or merge.

National Front

Ideology: National Socialist
Membership: 200-300
Leadership: Dave McDonald (chairman), Adam Lloyd (deputy)
Publications: Irregularly printed *Britain First*, a broadsheet, and is also promising to relaunch *Bulldog*. There is an online bulletin – *Sentinel* – that is also sporadic.
Online: A host of official party websites that lie dormant, regional Facebook pages, one main and a couple of personal Twitter accounts
Areas active: Aberdeen, Birmingham, Bradford, Bridgend, Blackburn, Blackpool, Bolton, Burnley, Cardiff, Cleveland, Coventry, Dewsbury, Dudley, Dundee, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Oldham, Preston, Rochdale, Rotherham, Scarborough, Stoke, Swansea, Wakefield, Warrington, Wigan, York. [Often in conjunction with the Infidels, Blood and Honour and or British Movement]

Summary of 2015

The National Front is a merger of many different regional factions and identities that united behind Kevin Bryan in a factional fight in the party that began in 2013.

The “North West” faction of the party won the right to use the name after promising the Electoral Commission it would stand 20 candidates in the general election. Eventually, it managed just seven candidates which was memorable mainly for the group almost splitting over mistakes with leaflets and leading activists preferring instead to carouse around pubs and clubs with the closely-aligned North West Infidels instead of campaigning.

The links between the NF and the Infidels took many NF activists into the very dark territory of criminality and drugs and a number of fringe activists of the group(s) found themselves before the courts.

Despite Bryan bringing the party together, there remain very strained relations and these came to a head when Bryan was forced to stand down as chairman due to ill health in November (he had crashed his car into a bus some months



Manchester NF White
Pride March 2015

NF

previously). A number of activists also aligned to Combat18 found themselves expelled from the party.

The earlier fall-out from the party's amateurish engagement in the elections included threats being made across the country that eventually culminated in July with Simon Biggs, a notorious drug resident in Newcastle, launching a violent assault against two senior members who had fallen foul of Bryan during the elections.

Along with The Infidels, the NF tried to reincarnate, amongst other groups, a new faction of the terrorist Combat 18. It also fell in and out of love with National Action which constantly criticised the NF's louché behaviour.

Although the NF was incredibly active and confrontational, it still fell very short on numbers and its own demonstrations had to be bolstered by those who share wider allegiances than just to the National Front. Periodicals, press releases and online updates were given little thought as the party pushed ahead with street demonstrations and confrontations across the north.

The party's Remembrance Sunday parade at the national Cenotaph saw two members of the NF attacked in a pub by members of the party's former southern faction.

Prospect for 2016

Now led by David McDonald from Scotland with heavily (nazi) tattooed Adam Lloyd from Wales as his deputy, it is hard to see the NF making any headway although these were 'political' appointments. In part, the appointments were to break the stranglehold the North West group and all of their baggage have on the party and potentially to allow Bryan to take up the reins again should his health recover.

McDonald claims he is going to relaunch the infamous NF youth magazine *Bulldog* and distribute it outside schools in Scotland. His bigger and most pressing task will be to boost the NF's coffers, update or delete its many social media accounts and convince people to take out membership in the party. He will face not just opposition in the North West of England (which had jockeyed for an alternative leader) but also those within the NF's orbit who reject even a modicum of political activity in favour of criminality, drug dealing and violence.

In January, McDonald was elected with just 111 votes to Aberdeen Community Council.



(left) Bernadette Jagers
(right) Eddie Stampton

New Dawn Party (NDP)



Ideology: National Socialist

Membership: Less than 50

Leadership: Bernadette Jagers (Chair), Robert Poundall, Piers Mellor, Eddie Stampton

Publications: None

Online: Website blogs and Twitter

Areas active: Bognor Regis, Southend, Lincoln, London and Newcastle (in conjunction with Northern Patriotic Front)

Summary of 2015

This is the losing faction in the National Front split. Formed in April 2015, the NDP is a rather mixed bag of aged, radical and conservative former British National Party members who split from the National Front claiming it was overrun by "criminal and antisocial elements". The party has one Parish Councillor, John Robinson, himself formerly of the BNP as was Jagers, a former bodyguard in ex-BNP leader Nick Griffin.

Mellor and Stampton ostensibly run the group on the streets and attempt to form alliances with groups and individuals as bizarre and obscure as National Action, the Polish fascist group NOP and Joshua Bonehill. Social pariahs even amongst other nazis, the group ended up being the front organisation for the planned anti-Jewish demonstrations in Golden Green and central London during the summer when it became clear that Bonehill was neither competent nor capable enough to carry through the threatened actions.

The group has become very heavily aligned with the NOP which has members in London.

Prospect for 2016

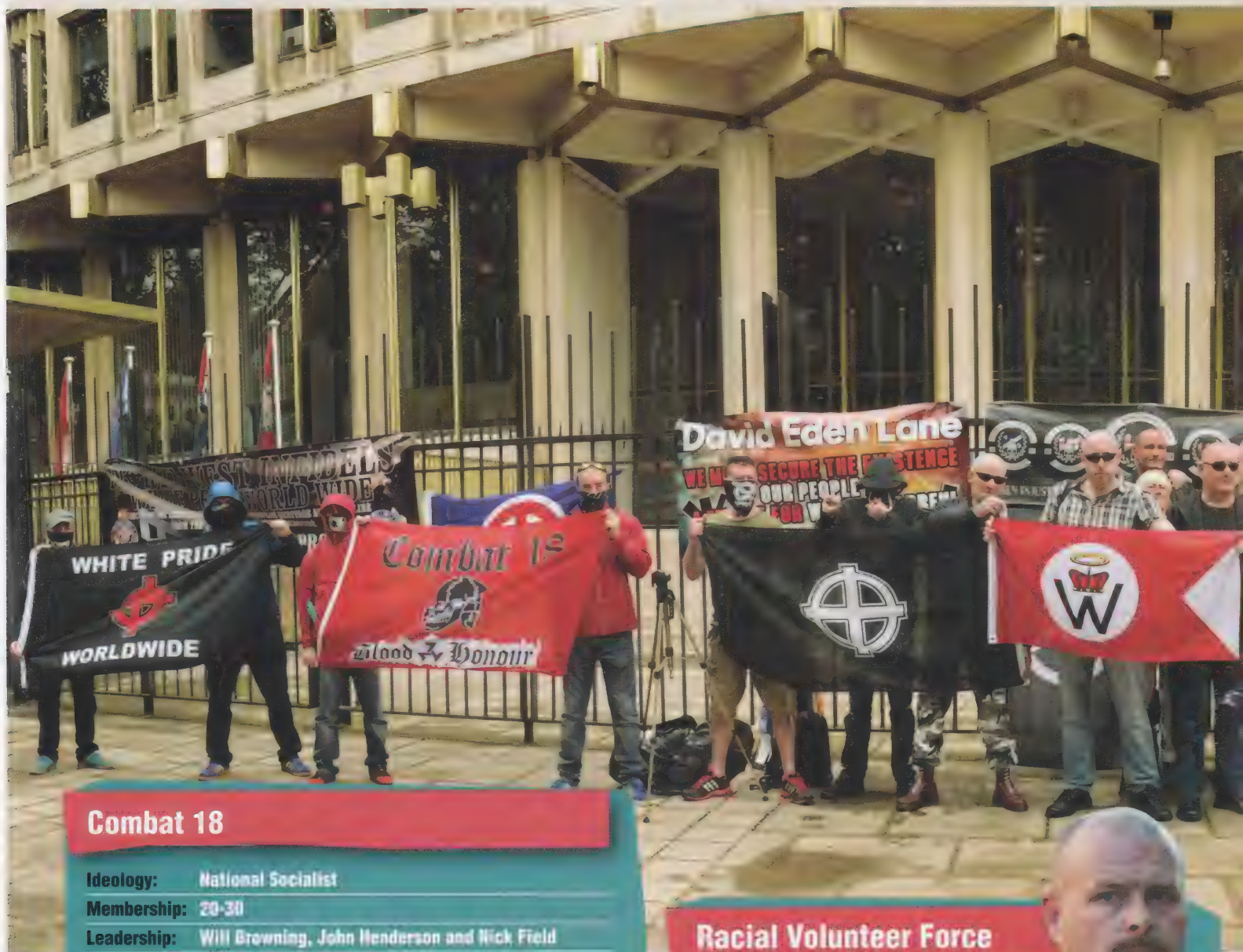
Stampton is widely believed to be a police informant. He launched a violent assault against the National Front when the two groups came across each other on Remembrance Sunday at the Cenotaph in Whitehall.

Jagers, however, has respect and good links with some former BNP personnel and may try to take advantage of the dwindling fortunes of the British Democratic Party and British Voice to form a new party. This will be almost impossible with Stampton anywhere near.



Adam Lloyd,
Deputy NF Secretary

STATE OF HATE EXTREME RIGHT



Combat 18

Ideology: National Socialist
Membership: 20-30
Leadership: Will Browning, John Henderson and Nick Field
Publications: None
Online: Website
Areas active: Has supporters in South and East London, Oldham, Yorkshire and Northern Ireland

Summary of 2015

Combat 18 (C18) has little organisational profile but a network of supporters still exists across the UK, most of whom were active when the group was a real force back in the late 1990s. Kevin Wainwright's increasing isolation from the NF has meant that he has started producing C18 material again and distributing it widely. NWI leader Shaun Calvert also began identifying himself as C18 during 2015, including posing outside Buckingham Palace with a C18 flag.

The C18 network is increasingly influential in the supposedly non-political "OI" scene, with at least four C18-linked "OI" bands as well as organising gigs and producing CDs. This is an international trend.

Prospect for 2016

Little change is expected in the UK, though the network does appear to be growing slightly across Europe. C18 is also a brand name for militant and violent nazism.

Racial Volunteer Force

Ideology: National Socialist
Membership: 10-20
Leadership: Mark Atkinson
Publications: None
Online: None
Areas active: Berkshire, London

Summary of 2015

The Racial Volunteer Force (RVF) has continued its decline of recent years with even its website going off line.

In April, the RVF helped organise the Free Gary Yarbrough demo in London and, in June, Atkinson made a highly inflammatory and antisemitic speech during a far right demo in Whitehall.

Prospect for 2016

The RVF is unlikely to achieve much on its own though Atkinson and its few remaining supporters will continue to support wider far right unity events.

STATE OF HATE 2015

David Lane Memorial American Embassy May 2015



Blood and Honour

Ideology: National Socialist
Membership: 200-300
Leadership: Simon Dutton, Ginger Rob, Benny Dullman, Dave Braddon, and Ade Brooks
Publications: *Blood and Honour*
Online: None
Areas active: London, South Wales, West & East Midlands, North West, Yorkshire and Scotland

Summary of 2015

B&H held six gigs during 2015: London (January), West Bromwich (April), South Wales (August), Northamptonshire (September), Scotland (November) and Coventry (December). A July gig was cancelled.

Attendance continues to decline but the drop-off in British supporters is masked by the growth in UK-based EU nationals, particularly Poles and Italians, turning up at gigs. It is not uncommon for 30% of the audience to be drawn from these two countries.

The 2015 ISD gig, the biggest of the year, was held on land recently purchased by veteran nazi Stephen Swinten. He hopes to build a clubhouse on the land for further gigs.

Main bands on the B&H scene are Blackout, Brutal Attack, Legion of St George, Whitelaw and Section 88.

Prospect for 2016

Further gradual decline.

WWII High
March 2015

British Movement

Ideology: National Socialist
Membership: 100-150
Leadership: Steve Frost
Publications: *Broadsword, Sunwheel*
Online: Website and regional Facebook pages
Areas active: London, Kent, South Wales, East Midlands, Yorkshire, Scotland and Northern Ireland

Summary of 2015

Most of its public activity involves stickering or fly-posting with even the group's own website proudly displaying picture after picture of its handwork. It continues to collaborate with other far right groups, particularly the National Front, with which there is a clear crossover of membership in Yorkshire and South Wales. 20-25 BM supporters also joined the National Action demo in Newcastle in March.

The group's leader, Steve Frost, spoke at the annual John Tyndall memorial lecture in Preston.

The BM organises occasional meetings in its key areas, particularly Yorkshire, and held its AGM in the East Midlands which is believed to have been attended by 40-50 people.

In mid-July, it organised the three-day Sunwheel Festival, attended by 60 people, including children.

There was another BM gathering in North Yorkshire in April to mark the anniversary of Hitler's birth.

BM continues to have a strong presence in Blood&Honour with skinhead bands Whitelaw, Section 88 and Redneck 28 all affiliated to the group and with regular BM stalls at gigs. The BM also organises its own gigs in the South East and the East Midlands.

A Scottish and Ulster BM website, advertised as recently as October, no longer exists.

Prospect for 2016

Further gradual growth.



January-February 2016

STATE OF HATE TINY GROUPS

National Action (NA)

Ideology:	Strasserite Nazi
Membership:	Approx 100
Leadership:	Ben Raymond and Alex Davies
Publications:	None
Online:	A website with a blog, a host of Facebook pages, websites and Twitter accounts under different names, some of which have been abandoned
Areas active:	Birmingham, Bognor Regis, Cardiff, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Oxford and Warrington

Summary of 2015

It was to be its year...when National Action would sweep aside not just the left, but much of the far right too. Its much-vaunted "New Man", possessed of a brutish idealism and a commitment to Strasser-style Nazism had supposedly been forged in months and months of training, both ideological and physical. They were to be the darlings of a new movement, abandoning their computers to take to the streets and begin a cultural and physical war on society.

The world did, indeed, stand up and take notice when 25-year-old Zack Davies, a fringe member of the group, carried out a near-fatal racist attack on an Asian man in a branch of Tesco near his home in Mold, North Wales, in January 2015.

While Davies awaited trial, National Action basked in sickening, moronic glory.

They made jokes, they evaded questions, they panicked. As a result of their justified infamy, their leader went off on jaunts and junkets, visiting nazi militias across Europe and expounding what were just his childlike theories as if he was some kind of oracle. Under scrutiny, ideology was evidently too hard to grasp for the failed double glazing salesman. He claimed that he wanted genocide but did not quite know how or to even articulate why.

Things began to unravel. It became known from people who had contacts and done investigations that Zack Davies was mentally ill. As well as liking Nazism, he also liked "Jihadi John". NA members, revelling in the drama, began growing wispy beards and declaring themselves as jihadis.

Others, like The National Front and the Infidels, questioned the NA's *modus operandi* and its credentials. Its "White Man March" in Newcastle in March was little more than a choreographed parade by heavy-

smoking scrawny schoolboys with underdeveloped arms and beards shouting slogans and demands to put people to death.

Afterwards, the same young boys fled from pubs when confronted by anti-fascists and it was left to the National Front, agitated onlookers on the day, to fight their way home for them. Nine were arrested.

By June, with Davies's conviction for attempted murder and commitment to a mental institution, it became clear that he had acted out a sick fantasy and not the instructions of a hardened terror group.

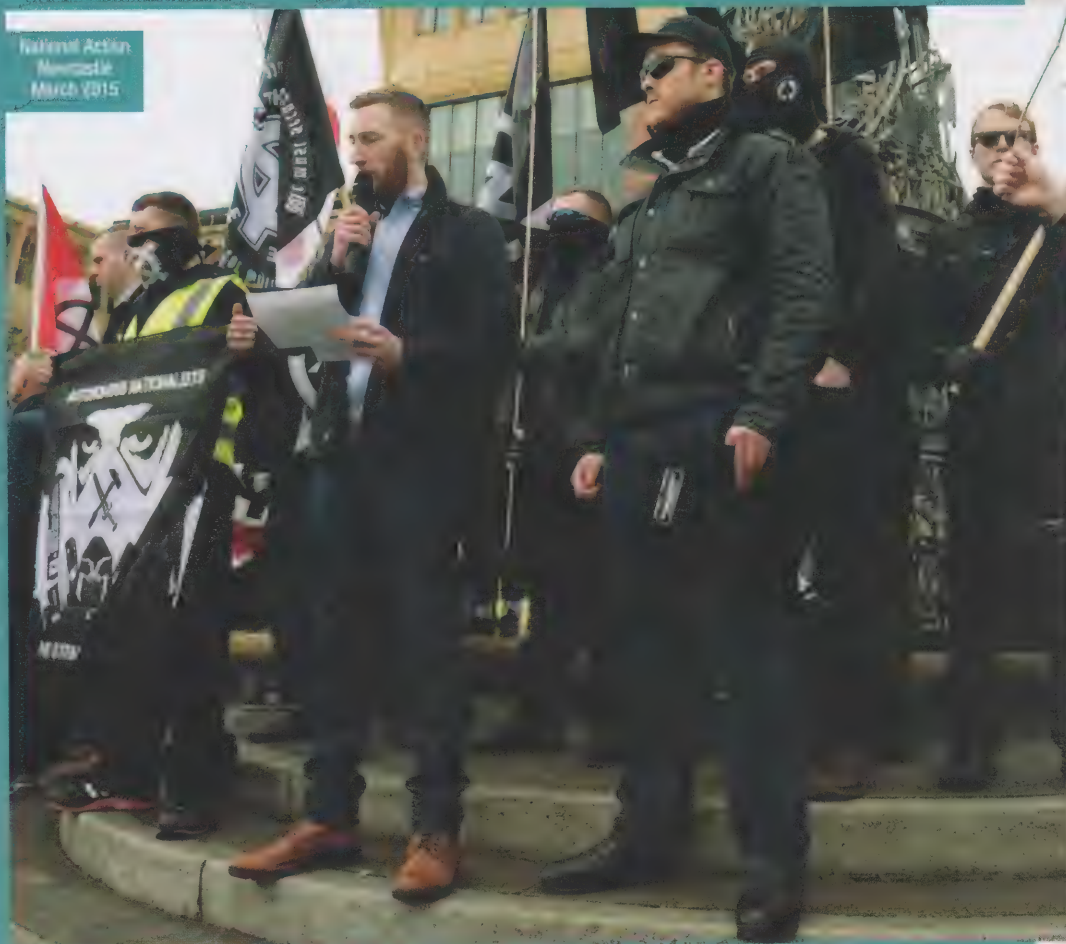
To prove itself and to prove that believing one's own publicity is wrong, NA declared it would hold a "White Man March" in Liverpool, the "heart and home of the reds."

It took to social media to goad anti-fascists, to declare it would make history and to proclaim it was the real deal. Enough enjoyable column inches have been dedicated to the outcome of that day.

Prospect for 2016

NA is a dangerous organisation, even if not dangerous in the way it would like to be. It has a talented online operation with smart use of imagery and media even if is not going to win any awards for intellectual endeavour.

Zack Davies will not be the first nor the last person to want to join the gang and to prove himself. The language and imagery that NA uses is different to the language and imagery of The Infidels but to belong, whether it be to an adolescent addiction to drugs or to racist and violent imagery, the far-right in Britain as a whole paints a picture of violence as the only way it can engage the rest of society. This will increase.



Misanthropic Division (MD)

Ideology:	National Socialist
Leadership:	Francesco Saverio Fontana (pictured)
Membership:	Fewer than 50
Online:	A series of hidden fora, Facebook accounts and Twitter
Areas Active:	London, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle and Preston

Summary of 2015

Fontana fled Ukraine where he was politely asked to leave the mercenaries of the fascist Azov Battalion and wound up in the UK as leader of the Misanthropic Division (MD), a group that shares its name with other terror cells around the world interested in fighting pro-Russians in Ukraine.

As Fontana quickly discovered after visiting the National Action demonstration in Newcastle in March 2015, MD and National Action are far from ready to take the plunge into anything that looks like all-out war. Fontana, however, decided to hang around and replaced former BNP organiser Chris Livingsstone as the group's leader.

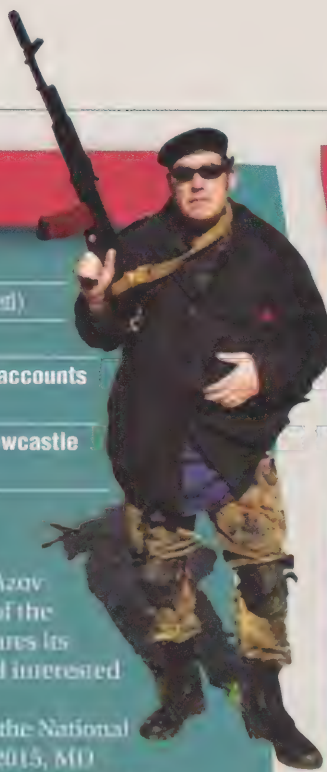
MD has upped its training in conjunction with National Action and Fontana appears far more interested in serious political violence than many previously associated with the group. He has been particularly interested in working with the North West Infidels.

The group has organised survivalist weekends in conjunction with MMA instructor Jimmy Hey.

Fontana also led a counter demonstration in London against Eddie Stimpson's New Dawn group that was holding a pro-Russian demonstration outside the Ukrainian Embassy in London.

Prospect for 2016

Fontana is not the most reliable of types and has already embedded himself in the internecine conflicts of the British far right, making lots of enemies as he disparages the British fascist movement. Younger activists, however, see Fontana as a man of action and he may well deliver some of them to places they would rather not go.



New British Union (NBU)

Ideology:	Fascist/Mosleyite
Leadership:	Gary Raikes
Membership:	30-40
Online:	Website, Facebook and Twitter accounts
Activity:	Aberdeen, Elgin, Liverpool, and Preston

Summary of 2015

Derided by the rest of the far right as a joke organisation, one wonders how one Scottish newspaper was sucked in to doing a major news story about how the group's plans for world domination included secret councillors and a plan to build a citadel in the Scottish city of Elgin. Quite clearly, the only way to describe this organisation is as being the product of a mind in desperate need of psychiatric counselling and treatment.

Prospect for 2016

Unless men in white coats intervene, there will no doubt be more prancing around in black uniforms in grainy, black and white videos. Raikes is a danger to himself.



Gary Raikes
a singer in his
reins

Right Wing Resistance (RWR)

Ideology:	National Socialist
Leadership:	Mick Wakefield and Paul Warburton
Membership:	10-15
Online:	Facebook
Activity:	Sussex

Summary of 2015

A small Nazi group that attends demonstrations and Blood/Honour concerts, the organisation has delusions of grandeur, its leader seeming more pre-occupied with awarding each member a fancy title rather than doing any real activity.

Linked to Swedish Nazis, it is boasting of staging a RWR protest in Stockholm in 2016.

STATE OF HATE TINY GROUPS (CONTINUED)

Legion/Legion Martial Arts Club

Ideology: Racial Nationalist, Pan-Aryan

Leadership: Craig Fraser

Online: Website/Facebook/YouTube

Summary of 2015

Formerly operating as Sigurd Legion – an organisation linked to the nazi National Action – the group is now just called Legion.

It held two training camps in 2015, one in January and one in July: the "Winter Camp" and the "Summer Camp". The latter was held in the Welsh hills. As well as self-defence, weapons training and survival skills, the camps included lessons on "The Aryan Mindset" and "Racial Cosmology". The camps had around 30 attendees or "Legionnaires" as they style themselves.

Prospect for 2016

The group has already announced its next camp for March 2016 in central England. It is unlikely to see much growth in 2016. The March camp only has availability for 40, which is only, slightly more than attended previous events.

A.K. Chesterton Trust (*Candour*)

Ideology: Conspiratorial Antisemitism, Nationalist, Fascist

Leadership: Colin Todd

Online: Website

Summary of 2015

The trust continued to run its website and promote the legacy of AK Chesterton, founder of the long-deceased League of Empire Loyalists and a former early leader of the National Front.

Its main occupation is the publication of *Candour*, the longest-running nationalist magazine in the UK. It continued to appear on a semi-regular basis during 2015 and provides a mouthpiece for nationalist, far right and racist commentators from across the British far right.

Prospect for 2016

It will continue to sell far right material and *Candour* will continue to be published for its diminishing readership.

Friends of Oswald Mosley

Ideology: Fascist

Leadership: Jeff Wallder

Online: Website/Facebook

Summary of 2015

The group operates as a veterans' club for old members of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists and his post-war Union Movement as well as others who still believe in his ideas. 2015 saw the website and Facebook page continue to be updated infrequently. The group publishes a newsletter called *Comrade* though none seem to have appeared in 2015.

Prospect for 2016

The group is likely to become increasingly inactive and small as the nature of the group means that it shrinks each year as more and more old Mosley supporters pass away.

League of St George

Ideology: Fascist

Leadership: Keith Thompson

Online: Website/Facebook

Summary of 2015

Despite its tiny size, the League continued to publish its racist quarterly magazine, the *League Sentinel*.

Its main activity continues to be its Book Club which is on a bookselling website called Steven Books which remains one of the leading producers and distributors of racist, nationalist, Holocaust denial and fascist books and pamphlets in the UK.

Prospect for 2016

It is very unlikely that 2016 will see any change in the activities of the League. It will continue to be small, relatively inactive and irrelevant.

Legion Martial Arts
Camp training camp

Northern Patriotic Front (NPF)

Ideology: Racial Nationalist, Fascist
Leadership: Robert Batton
Online: Website with forum/Facebook/Twitter
Activity: Liverpool, Newcastle, Sunderland, Glasgow

Summary of 2015

The NPF is a minute group so sure of itself that it refuses to disband and refuses to merge with other minute groups. The group meets regularly and participates in most demonstrations by other groups in the North East, except for the National Front where there is some long-standing tension. It recently welcomed former BDP leader Kevin Scott to its meetings which may lead to a broadening of its horizons.

Prospect for 2016

One of several groups that may have to merge in the face of a rejuvenated Counter-Jihad movement which is anathema to much of the far right.



Liberty GB

Ideology: Counter-Jihadist, Anti-Muslim, Nationalist
Leadership: Paul Weston
Online: Website/Facebook/Twitter
Activity: Nationwide

Summary of 2015

2015 was a disappointing year for Liberty GB as, despite the migrant crisis and the Paris terror attacks, the party again failed to make any impact on the political scene. While its website and propaganda look professional the party has failed to capitalise on widespread anti-Muslim sentiment. The most notable point of the group's year was when its press officer, Jack Buckley, featured in a BBC documentary called "Is Britain racist?" and was widely ridiculed for his performance.

During the year, Liberty GB held talks with Jim Dawson and Paul Golding of Britain First but nothing materialised.

2015 also saw it launch Liberty: United States, a blog that aims to comment on American issues from a British perspective and vice versa. This is perhaps in recognition of the fact that while Liberty GB remains irrelevant on the British far right, its leader Paul Weston remains an influential figure on the international Counter-Jihad scene.

Prospect for 2016

Paul Weston will likely continue to figure on the Counter-Jihad scene but the party is unlikely to see much growth despite the political climate being receptive to their anti-Muslim and anti-Islam message.

Paul Weston at the Pegida rally in Frankfurt, Germany 2015



The Sons of St George

Ideology: Fascist, Mosleyite
Online: Website
Activity: Sussex

Summary of 2015

This is a 2014 retread of a far right group originally founded in 1946 by Tommy Moran, a former member of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. It has a women's section called the Daughters of St George and a young members' section called the Youth of St George.

In 2015, this tiny outfit supported activities organised by other far right groups such as the New British Union and the New Dawn Party.

Prospect for 2016

This tiny group will continue to be an irrelevance.

STATE OF HATE THINK TANKS



High profile IONA London Forum speakers (left to right) David Irving, Lady Michèle Renouf, Andrew Brons and Richard Edmonds

IONA London Forum

Ideology: Identitarian, Nationalist
Leadership: Jeremy Bedford-Turner
Online: YouTube
Areas active: London, South East, and Yorkshire

Summary of 2015

It continued to host semi-regular meetings in London pubs and conference rooms and the number of foreign far right speakers suggests that the London Forum is growing in importance. 2015 also saw the launch of a Yorkshire branch under the leadership of Liam Kernaghan.

High profile domestic speakers this year included Holocaust denier David Irving, former BNP MEP Andrew Brons, Richard Edmonds from the National Front and Lady Michèle Renouf.

2015's highpoint was a conference held in April that saw over 100 people turn up to the Grosvenor Hotel in London to listen to high profile far right leaders and Holocaust deniers. Speakers included Mark Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review.

Other foreign speakers this year have included Marinus Wilfinger from Generation Identitaire, Andreas Giallourides from Golden Dawn, Paul Fromm from Canada First Immigration Reform Committee, Javier Nichols, chairman of the Spanish Wagner Society, Greg Johnson, editor-in-chief of Counter-Currents in the USA, Flemish Nationalist Students, Sebastian E. Bonin of the National Synergy Party of North America, Ruben Kalep from Estonia, Mindaugas Sieda from Lithuania, Daniel Carlson, chairman of The Party of the Danes, Robert Verreyken from Vlaams Belang, Karl Richter from the German Nazi NPD, Alex Kurtagic, Kai Murros and Charles Knott among others.

Prospect for 2016

It is unlikely that the London Forum will grow much in terms of size. However its list of high profile speakers in 2015 has no doubt raised its reputation in far right circles and this will most likely continue throughout 2016.

New Right

Ideology: New Right, Pan-European Nationalist
Leadership: Troy Southgate, Adrian Davies
Online: None
Areas active: London and South East England

Summary of 2015

2015 was a very quiet year for New Right as it has been eclipsed by the success of the London Forum. Troy Southgate is now dedicating his time to promoting National Anarchism and his new venture, the Porto Forum, which is based in Portugal where he now lives.

Prospect for 2016

It is likely to be a quiet year for the New Right with it organising the occasional meeting.



British Renaissance

Ideology: Racial Nationalist

Leadership: Jack Sen

Online: Facebook

Summary of 2015

This is a new organisation that emerged in 2015. It was formed by Jack Sen, formerly of UKIP and the BNP. He hit the headlines after posting antisemitic slurs on Twitter that saw him get thrown out of UKIP. He then joined the BNP for a while before leaving them and splitting the party. Seeking to profit from the events Sen published *How to Get Suspended from UKIP & the BNP in 10 Articles & 2 Tweets*.

In November he launched British Renaissance (BritRen for short) at a Lancashire Patriots Lunch. It claims to be a movement towards nationalist unity. It had hoped to hold an event with the American white nationalist Matthew Heimbach but he was banned from entering the UK, which scuppered its plans.

In an interview he gave to *Radio Arjan* Sen explained the aims of the new movement as being: "more a think tank, a counter to the Fabian Society, a nationalist think tank, looking to make sure that nationalists stay on course, we radicalize moderates in the patriotic movement and we ensure that Zionist entities do not infiltrate British nationalism. So what I'm trying to do is, create an organization that will help candidates who run as independents – run under the BNP – different parties, and just ensure that they stay the course and that they maintain their nationalist roots and not go to the other side and, you know, join the ranks of the EDL and the other kosher nationalists."

The new group's 'patrons' include Iex Turner of the London Forum, Andrew Joyce of the Occidental Observer, Jason Claar of the American Freedom Party, Alwyn Dragon, Carl Mason, Edward O'Sullivan, Paul Hilliard and Gary Tumulty, all formerly of the BNP.

Prospect for 2016

Despite causing some excitement in far right circles upon its formation and having a professional website and setup it is likely that BritRen will join the ever increasing list of nationalist organisations and splinter groups that fail to make any impact on the mainstream. However, if it manages to unite a number of far right groups as it intends then it will be one to watch in terms of its influence within the British far right.

It has already attracted a portion of the North West branch of the BNP and is likely to take a section from the London branch. However, Sen's Indian heritage is an obvious roadblock with the more extreme white nationalists having nothing to do with the enterprise for this reason.



Traditional Britain Group (TBG)

Ideology: Radical Conservatism, Traditionalism

Leadership: Lord Sudeley, Vice President: John Kersey, Vice President and Treasurer: Gregory Lauder-Frost

Online: Website, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube

Areas active: London, South East

Summary of 2015

There has been little change this year for the TBG. It held a number of meetings and social events and its conference this year included such speakers as Dr Sean Gabb, Commander Paul Fisher, Theodore Dalrymple, John Kersey, the Reverend Peter Mullen, Quinlan Terry, Stuart Millson and John Morgan from Arktos Press.

In August 2015, it released a statement calling for the government to resign over the issue of immigration. Unsurprisingly it was ignored.

In the wake of the November Paris attacks, it put a translated version of Marine Le Pen's statement on its website along with a video of it.

Prospect for 2016

It is unlikely that much will change in 2016. It will probably continue as before with several meetings and social events in addition to an annual conference.



(above) John Morgan speaks at the Traditional Britain Conference 2015

(below) (left) Jeremy Bedford-Turner
(third from left) Jack Sen and (right) Peter Rushton

STATE OF HATE MAGAZINES/PUBLISHERS

Mjolnir

Ideology: Cultural Nationalist, Pan-European Nationalist, New Right

Editor: David Yorkshire (Alias)

Summary of 2015

This new magazine emerged this year and produced two editions. The magazine is primarily an arts journal of the cultural nationalist variety, drawing its ideology from the New Right. It is pitched at the more intellectual wing of the far right and includes contributions on right-wing and traditionalist literature, poems and art. David Yorkshire also addressed a meeting of the London Forum.

Prospect for 2016

The magazine's circulation is very small and is unlikely to increase much in 2016.

Heritage and Destiny

Ideology: Racial Nationalist

Editor: Mark Cotterill

Deputy Editor: Peter Rushton

Summary of 2015

It continues to be Britain's leading non-party racial nationalist newspaper. It published six editions during the year with a regularity rarely matched by other publications of this type. It published its usual array of articles by prominent far right activists, reviews and adverts for similar nationalist publications. It also operates an online shop for nationalist paraphernalia and organises the yearly John Tyndall Memorial Meeting in Preston.

Prospect for 2016

It is very unlikely that anything will change for this publication during 2016.

Historical Review Press (HRP)

Summary of 2015

Despite the death in 2012 of Anthony Hancock, its founder, the HRP continues to limp on. Once a powerhouse of the international Holocaust denial scene it is now a shadow of its former self. In 2015 it made no impact and its website now sells a variety of fascist, far right and Holocaust denial literature, much of it produced by others.

Prospect for 2016

It is highly unlikely that there will be any change of note in 2016.

Western Spring

Webmaster: Larry Nunn

Summary of 2015

This UK website is a racial nationalist site that publishes articles about and for "people indigenous to the British Isles". It is similar to American websites like Counter-Currents, Alternative Right and the Occidental Observer. As well as a website, Western Spring is a movement that can be joined. 2015 saw it continue much as in previous years with it only exerting influence over the more intellectual parts of the nationalist movement.

Prospect for 2016

It is very unlikely that anything will change for this website/movement during 2016.

May 1933: Hitler's supporters give the Nazi salute as thousands of books smoulder during one of the mass book burnings aimed at destroying "non-Aryan" publications



F FOCAL POINT PUBLICATIONS

Black House Publishing

Director: Janet Elaine Slatter

Summary of 2015

This tiny enterprise publishes and sells reissued versions of fascist and far right books. Likely named after the Oswald Mosley's headquarters, "The Black House", it produces high quality reprints of much of Mosley's back catalogue as well as other fascist, national socialist, Third Position and right-wing literature. Its books are also sold via Steven Books, run by the League of St George and the Historical Review Press website.

Prospect for 2016

It is highly unlikely that there will be any change of note in 2016.

Focal Point Publishing / David Irving

Summary of 2015

Focal Point is the publishing outfit set up by Irving in 1980 and is now solely used to reissue and publish his discredited books. 2015 has been a mixed year for Irving. On the upside, his lifetime ban from Germany was finally overturned. However, he seems to be experiencing severe financial problems which have resulted in him having to send out embarrassing begging letters just to survive. In addition, there is a possibility his American visa will not be renewed, meaning he may have to move back to the UK despite having lived in America for some time.

2015 was further proof that his influence has all but disappeared with his speaking tour being attended by only a handful of people at each event. Long gone are the days when he could fill lecturing halls. He did, however, address a well-attended meeting of the London Forum.

Prospect for 2016

He has long been claiming that he has almost finished his biography of Heinrich Himmler and Volume 3 of *Churchill's War* as well as his memoirs. The publication of any of these would no doubt raise his profile again but it is possible he may publish none of them as he did in 2015.

STATE OF HATE DEFENCE LEAGUES

English Defence League (EDL)

Ideology:	Ultra-nationalist
Membership:	200-250
Leadership:	Alan Spence (Leader), Ian Crossland (Spokesperson)
Publications:	None
Online:	Its main Facebook page has been hacked. Almost everything else seems to have ground to a standstill apart from where individuals remain active and engaged in activity
Areas active:	Aylesbury, Barnsley, Birmingham, Blackpool, Bradford, Colchester, Dover, Dudley, Leeds, Lincoln, London, Newcastle, Oxford, Portsmouth, Rotherham, Scarborough, Sheffield, Southampton, Thanet, Wakefield, Walsall

Summary of 2015

The world fell in on the EDL early in the year when an ongoing internal brawl erupted into open warfare over allegations of sexual harassment, theft and bullying. HOPE, not hate was able to weigh in with a very embarrassing (and redacted) picture of the EDL's national organiser Dave Bolton in a highly compromising position. The whole argument further highlighted that the EDL could not get any more irrelevant and tawdry. Bolton left the group later in the year.

In the run up to the general election, there was further evidence that the group's founder, Stephen Lennon, still had a hold over the group when he and then EDL leader Steve Eddowes were involved in what appeared to be a sting

operation on a Conservative Party candidate in Dudley in the West Midlands that made national headlines.

Demonstrations remained embarrassingly small non-events but, with the refugee crisis, it soon became apparent that the EDL had made a sizeable shift into the anti-immigration camp by bolstering very small anti-refugee events, most notably in Tamworth in the West Midlands and Barnsley in South Yorkshire where EDL activists openly cooperated with the British National Party.

In November, the EDL held a surprisingly tiny demonstration in Bradford, leading the local paper to proclaim: "It's a mystery why they bother to come at all."

At the beginning of December, Stephen Lennon finally announced that he would be taking over and "advising" Pegida UK and properly launching the group in Britain in February 2016. Eddowes and a few others immediately jumped ship to join Lennon. There will be no love lost between what remains of the EDL and Lennon's Pegida.

Prospect for 2016

Alan Spence has been "elected" to lead the group in the future. A former BNP organiser and bodyguard to Nick Griffin, Spence leads one of the most violent and active groups still inside the EDL. He is backed up by Ian Crossland, the group's Yorkshire regional organiser, who is currently facing charges of violent disorder.

Both Spence's and Crossland's appointments were welcomed by groups like the Infidels so it may be that there is some relaxing of old tensions between the two groups. Given that Crossland has a history of Nazi saluting on EDL activities, it is likely the group will finally fall into the camp of our-and-out fascists. The rest of the EDL's audience, most likely, will follow Lennon.



EDL in Dudley
February 2015



STATE OF HATE 2015

The Infidels

Ideology: National Socialist

Membership: 50-100

Leadership: Shava Calvert, Peter Hawley, John English and John "Snowy" Shaw

Publications: None

Online: A series of Facebook pages and supporting blogs and Twitter accounts. Calvert has his own Twitter account

Areas active: As per the National Front, plus their own demonstration in Preston. Most of the gang is domiciled in and around the north west of England, particularly in Blackburn.

Summary of 2015

The Infidels became the most obnoxious and criminal group on Britain's far right. Attached to, but not always entirely welcome in, the National Front (NF), the group managed a heavy mix of drugs, intimidation and violence that had a debilitating effect on the NF's electoral campaign and almost split the party. There simply appear to be no rules or boundaries to the group's activities and nothing appears to be beyond the pale. One member is currently on bail for robbing a children's day care centre while another is on bail after a major drugs raid.

Calvert called a rally in Preston in October and openly bragged that he expected over 600 to attend in what he called a "watershed" in that the power on the streets had moved from the EDL towards his own gang. Fewer than 60 attended, though there was no shortage of Nazi salutes, smoke bombs, violence and a call for "unity" by SEA's Paul Prodromou. In the run up to Christmas, a number of mosques in Blackburn were also mysteriously attacked.

Having managed to avoid jail for most of the year, Calvert and Co. established themselves as the nemesis of National Action (NA) which eschews the sort of hedonistic adventurism that The Infidels have made themselves infamous for.

Some on the edges and fringe of the group have been keen to move towards a more paramilitary style of activity in the guise of the "Misanthropic Division", a National Action offshoot with some weak links to the civil war in the Ukraine.

The group was behind the vile intimidation of trade union and anti-fascist activists in Wigan throughout the second half of the year. Expect this to continue into 2016.

Prospect for 2016

The Infidels represent just one face of the non-electoral far right. It shows no sign of slowing down or curtailing its hatreds. The police will eventually have to move against the group. Whether it is for the drug dealing or the violence is unimportant but another year like the one we just saw and someone will get seriously hurt.

(left) SEA's Paul Prodromou

(right) John "Snowy" Shaw and Shane Calvert

South East Alliance (SEA)

Ideology: Fascist

Membership: 20-30

Leadership: Paul Prodromou (aka Paul Pitt)

Publications: None

Online: Prodromou appears frequently on other people's social media pages

Areas active: Barnsley, Dover, Dudley, London, Manchester, Preston, Rotherham, Thanet, and Wakefield

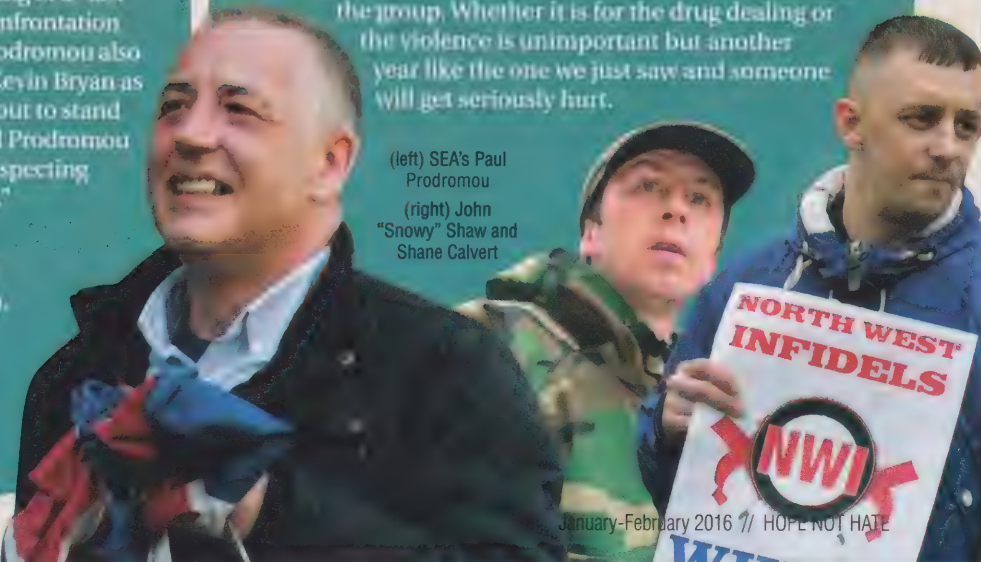
Summary of 2015

Prodromou led his small band of men over most of the country in support of the National Front and the Infidels. When asked to address crowds, Prodromou made constant calls for "unity" between other groups, though he never once offered to merge his own group. Others in the far right have started to take notice of Prodromou, though not of his deluded belief that he has the abilities and talent to lead a serious far right group.

Prodromou and his group have made something of a "last stand" in Dover, regularly engaging in violent confrontation with anti-racist and anti-fascist groups there. Prodromou also put himself forward as a potential successor to Kevin Bryan as leader of the National Front when Bryan was about to stand down, allegedly leading to him having to remind Prodromou that a large number of the far right – although respecting him – do not consider him an equal "white man."

Prospect for 2016

There is not really a lot left for the South East Alliance to do but fold and merge. Prodromou, however, ranks himself as one of the great thinkers and organisers of the fascist movement. He is as seriously deluded as he is angry. The SEA is little more now than a southern faction of the National Front.



STATE OF HATE PEGIDA



2015 finished with the prospect of a British branch of a German far right organisation on the verge of establishing itself as the premier right wing threat in the UK.

Pegida – full name *Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) – has attempted to expand out of its Dresden base to franchise its name to anti-Muslim groups across the continent.

In the UK, Matthew Pope initially set up a Pegida group but that fizzled out and the baton was taken up, as the year ended, by former English Defence League leader Stephen Lennon. With his name, social media reach and media savviness, Pegida UK might resurrect the fortunes of a declining movement.

Pegida UK was initially launched in Newcastle in March 2015 but did not appear to have the full blessing and cooperation of the German parent

organisation. Instead of the usual band of suspects who try to occupy any new movement in Britain's overcrowded far right, a small clique of previously unknown individuals took centre stage.

Although the organisers of the event (aside from Donna Treanor, a London BNP official who had appointed herself as an "adviser") were relatively unknown, the event in Newcastle did manage to attract everyone from the leader of the British National Party (BNP) Adam Walker to seasoned English Defence League (EDL) activists and jackbooted National Front nazis. With around 300 participants, it was the biggest far-right demonstration in Britain in 2015.

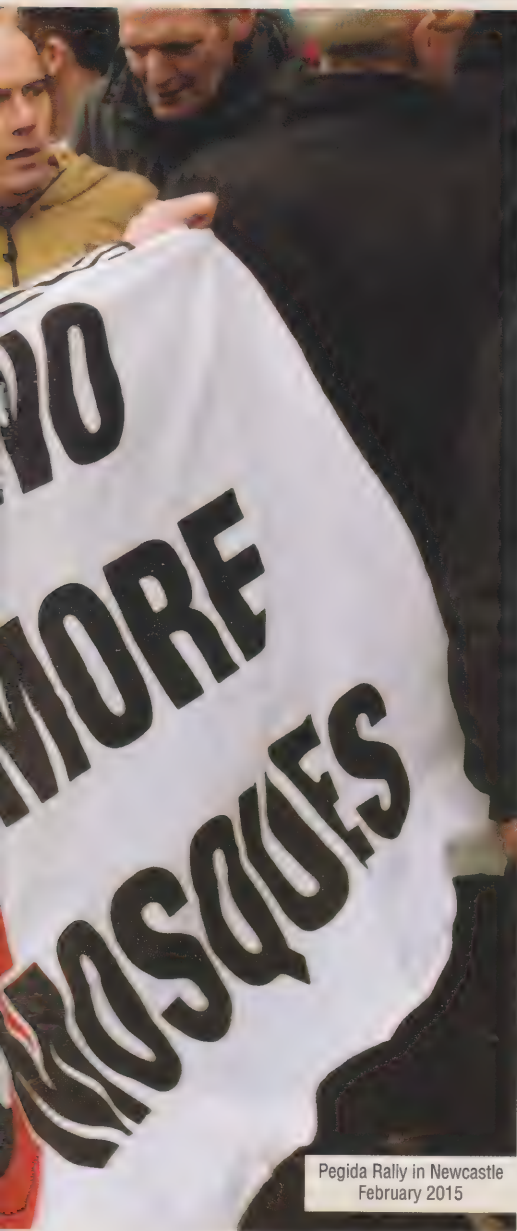
The BNP, EDL and a host of smaller satellite nazi groups attached themselves to the group but it was troubled from the start. By the time Pegida made it to London for a demonstration outside Downing Street in London, it had already taken a very different shape. Members of the EDL

dominated the small protest whilst associates of Stephen Lennon skulked in the background.

The organisation collapsed not long afterwards, its early leadership having succumbed to the attractions of internecine disputes and carousing with hardened nazis.

Matthew Pope, who wrestled control of the organisation, then appeared to fall under the spell of Lennon who assured him that he had no interest in leading the group but merely wanted to advise him.

In October 2015, Lennon addressed Pegida's first anniversary rally in Dresden. Referring to the refugee crisis, he likened the mass movement of people across Europe to the Crusades, telling his 20,000 listeners: "Our borders are being overrun. There is little or no control. A country that cannot control its borders will soon not be a country... We need one banner. Save our culture. Save our country. Save our future. Unite to save a future for our children."



Pegida Rally in Newcastle
February 2015

He was also uncompromising in his hostility to Muslims and not just Islamist extremism.

He told the crowd that he wanted a Europe "free from Halal food", "free from Muslim rape gangs", free from "the visual scars of minarets" and the "sounds of call to prayer" and free from people "who cover their faces, walk around our streets and refuse to integrate."

Pope was rapidly shoved aside to make way for Lennon though the former EDL chief was always keen to have a front man to hide behind. In December, he installed former mercenary Timothy Scott as his puppet leader but within twenty-four hours Scott had quit after an extraordinary car-crash interview with Channel Four News exposed his intellectual shortcomings.

With nowhere else to turn, Lennon was back in January of this year with his old friends and co-conspirators, Paul Weston of Liberty GB and Ann Marie Waters of Sharia Watch and UKIP.

This will be the group to watch in 2016.

BRITAIN'S COUNTER-JIHAD SCENE

A plethora of organisations, campaigns groups and discussion forums make up Britain's Counter-Jihad (CJ) scene. Most are interlinked and share activists, ideas and activism. Some are more extreme than others though all share hatred of Islam and, through their words and actions, contribute to a heightening of anti-Muslim prejudice and fear.

4Freedoms: An online discussion forum run by Alan Ayling and "Kinana Nadir" to share and circulate articles and views about Islam and the "fundamental defects in the constructed model of Western secular democratic government." This is the public face of the Ayling/"Kinana" network.

7/7 Society: A more secretive group on the Counter-Jihad scene, the 7/7 Society is run by "Kinana" and holds regular meetings in the Holborn/Chancery Lane area of London. This is the private side of the Ayling/"Kinana" network.

Sharia Watch UK: Set up in 2014, Sharia Watch UK describes its mission as documenting "the advancement of sharia law in Britain, the methods by which this advancement occurs, and the groups and organisations which promote it." Led by Anne Marie Waters.

Law and Freedom: A pressure group run by Bristol-based lawyer Gavin Boby that declares its mission is to "promote freedom under law, as we enter more lawless times." Of course, its sole focus is on Islam and the Muslim community. It has produced a long report claiming that child sex grooming is a direct consequence of Islam and it campaigns to stop the building of mosques.

Voice UK: Formed in April 2014 by Anne Marie Waters and "David Britain", VOICE stands for Victims of Islamic Cultural Extremism and claims to "help victims of Muslim grooming gangs, Female Genital Mutilation, male victims of Muslim violence in general and Muslim women in fear of their male relatives."

Stop Islamisation of Europe (UK): The UK branch of this European-wide organisation is weak and less influential than it was a few years ago when Stephen Gash led it. Today Samantha Herron runs it but newer, more militant CJ groups have usurped its role.

MARIAS: Mothers Against Radical Islam and Sharia is led by Toni Bugle and is closely linked to Anne Marie Waters and the Sharia Watch UK crowd. It holds irregular demonstrations and protests, including one in April, opposite Downing Street that was addressed by Anne Marie Waters and Magnus Nielsen.

*The English Defence League, Liberty GB and Britain First are profiled elsewhere in this report.



Alan Ayling



Kinana Nadir



Anne Marie Waters



Gavin Boby



Toni Bugle

The roller coaster fortunes of UKIP

Nick Lowles

2015 STARTED with such optimism for UKIP. Buoyed up by victory in two parliamentary by-elections and a very close second in the Labour stronghold of Heywood and Middleton, the impending General Election was widely believed to be UKIP's moment to break into the political mainstream.

In August 2014 Sky News claimed to have UKIP's target seat list for the general election. Ten of the twelve listed were Conservative-held seats, with just one being Labour and one Liberal Democrat, reflecting the opinion at the time that it was Conservative voters that were more likely to switch to UKIP, than Labour's lost voters.

As it turned out, only three of the dozen seats featured in UKIP's top ten votes featured in UKIP's top performing areas and were probably selected more for their County Council and European Election results over the preceding two years than a serious analysis of parliamentary seats.

This work was left to academics like Matthew Goodwin and Rob Ford who, in their book *Revolt on the Right*, explored the social and political make-up of likely UKIP voters and identified the constituencies they considered to have most potential support but also the three-way marginals where UKIP had its best electoral chances.

The book, coupled with



other research and experience on the doorstep, created panic in the Labour Party which, until then, had been fairly complacent over UKIP, believing it took more votes off the Conservatives. The BNP had long fared better in Labour strongholds – even if the BNP voter was not a direct switch from Labour – and this trend looked like continuing under Labour.

Labour's UKIP wobbles, coupled with a bored media excited at UKIP's possible impact on the election, meant that the party went into the 2015 General Election believing its moment had come, confidently expecting to win several seats in Parliament and, it privately hoped, holding the balance of power afterwards.

So confident was UKIP leader Nigel Farage of winning Thanet South, he announced that he would resign as party leader if he was unsuccessful.

Of course, nothing went quite as planned. UKIP only held on to one of the two seats it was defending and failed to win any others. Worse still, the Conservatives defied expectations and were able to form a government without the help of minor parties.

A furious Farage was left with little option but to offer the party his resignation though, of course, he had no intention of seeing it accepted. Within hours of telling the press he would honour his word, he and his close supporters were lobbying the party's executive to ensure his resignation was rejected.

There were three principal reasons for UKIP's failure to gain more MPs: the party itself, the opposition and English nationalism.

UKIP followed a strategy that it defined as "shock and awe", whereby it was deliberately provocative and

hardline in order to generate headlines and appeal to its core base. This approach was most evidently used during the leaders debate when Farage spoke out against overseas HIV sufferers accessing the NHS.

"It was a core vote message. It wasn't to reach out to floating voters. We need to mobilise our base and that's what he did," one senior source told the *Daily Telegraph*. The newspaper went on to claim that this issue was chosen precisely because it would generate such a reaction.

Locally, in South Thanet, Farage also used similar tactics when he accused his Labour candidate of being "anti-white" after a dispute about anti-social behaviour.

But the UKIP campaign was also tactically wrong. Despite the much vaunted modern political machine that some commentators had been hyping up for the

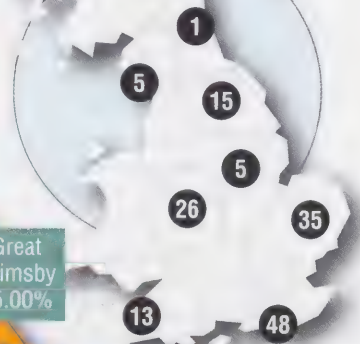
UKIP election results

UKIP's 2015 results, by constituency

KEY

0-4.9 (77)	5-9.9 (92)
10-14.9 (201)	15-19.9 (185)
20-24.9 (53)	25-29.9 (8)
30+ (8)	

NEW UKIP COUNCILLORS PER REGION



Heywood & Middleton
32.20%

Rotherham
30.20%

Dudley North
24.00%

Wentworth and Dearne
24.90%

Hartlepool
28.00%

Great Grimsby
25.00%

Rother Valley
28.10%

Boston & Skegness
33.80%

Clacton
44.40%

Basildon South & Thurrock East
26.50%

Castle Point
31.20%

Thurrock
31.70%

Rochester & Strood
30.50%

Thanet North
25.70%

Dagenham & Rainham
29.80%

Hornchurch & Upminster
25.30%

Thanet South
32.40%

previous 12 months, the UKIP campaign on the ground was shambolic, disorganised and, in some cases, largely non-existent.

UKIP might well have won two parliamentary by-elections last autumn using modern election techniques, but it was unable to replicate that success on the scale or intensity required at the General Election.

Indeed, in some of its key target seats, the UKIP campaign shared more similarities with a BNP campaign – though on a bigger scale. There were lorries, vans and cars driving around emblazoned in UKIP colours and slogans. There were billboards and adverts in the local newspapers. There were town centre stalls and the obligatory public meeting when Farage was in town.

But there was not the type of campaigning that is required to take a respectable 25% second place vote to the 35%+ needed to win. There was very little Voter ID and canvassing taking place and even very little targeting with leaflets. It was loud and visual and while that creates a stir it is not always the best way to win elections.

The party's lack of capacity was also a key issue and it was simply unable to compete with the main political parties, who, as was proved, were well versed in upping their game in elections.

Despite boasting over 40,000 members, the party lacked activists where it most needed them and in many of its key target areas the party was, ironically, reliant on hiring gangs of Eastern European workers to distribute its material.

UKIP was also unable to cope with the opposition directed at it, both from the political parties but also by HOPE not hate. We ran 10 very targeted and intensive campaigns in UKIP's top target areas, localised and customised for each constituency. In some areas, we identified and mobilised the anti-UKIP vote, while, in others, we went after its

candidates directly.

Finally, and especially amongst former Conservative voters, the Tory strategy of talking up the SNP threat worked well and clearly won back some of the UKIP vote. UKIP was not able to respond, not helped by the almost entire party focus on Farage's seat in Thanet South to the detriment of its other target areas.

Internal strife

While UKIP came second in 120 parliamentary constituencies and secured 12% of the national vote, its failure to win more MPs proved decisive. And just like the BNP after the 2010 general election, electoral defeat led to internal warfare, as first Patrick O'Flynn and Stuart Wheeler called on Farage to stand down and then its only MP, Douglas Carswell, did likewise.

It is now clear that tensions existed between Farage and Carswell from almost the very moment the former Tory MP defected to UKIP. They clashed on economics, immigration, party funding, the election campaign and even, more recently, how best to campaign in the EU referendum.

Despite Carswell being the party's only MP, Farage was in no mood to give ground. He publicly attacked the Clacton MP, questioning his temperament, loyalty and even his state of mind. And, bolstered by a loyal and quite forgiving party membership, Farage felt secure enough to humiliate Carswell publicly without fear of a party backlash.

But, on the ground, UKIP was going backwards. Away from an election cycle and the huge media attention it had become accustomed to, the UKIP has been going down in council by-elections, even in its key heartlands.

Simultaneously, internal divisions and infighting led to resignations in several UKIP branches, including Thurrock, Basildon, Castle Point and, most significantly Thanet.

UKIP had won 33 of

Thanet's 56 council seats in May, making it the first UKIP-controlled local authority in the country. While some of this was the result of Farage's parliamentary campaign, it was also because of a high-profile campaign to reopen Manston airport, which had been closed in 2014.

A lack of action from the council, including an allegation that the UKIP council leader was dragging his feet over the airport plans, led four UKIP councillors to defect to the Independent group in September, followed by another in October, which resulted in UKIP losing control of the council.

The Corbyn impact

The election of Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party gave UKIP renewed optimism that it could regain momentum, particularly amongst the white working class in the north of England who, polls suggest, were not attracted to Corbyn's politics. It was with this in mind that Farage had such optimism going into the Oldham West and Royton parliamentary by-election caused by the death of veteran MP Michael Meacher.

In the event though, this election proved to be a huge defeat for UKIP. Having publicly talked up its chances of winning, though most independent observers thought a close second was more realistic, to finish with only a marginally better showing than in May's General Election and almost 40% behind Labour was more than disappointing. It reinforced the view that UKIP's bubble had burst and bolstered those believing that Corbyn's Labour could win back disaffected Labour voters.

Of course, neither view is necessarily correct. There were particular and localised features to this by-election that make it difficult to draw wider lessons. In Jim McMahon, Labour had a well-liked local politician who ran a very personalised campaign with little or no

mention of Jeremy Corbyn or the national party.

Labour's vote was also heavily reliant on the considerable Muslim vote, estimated at almost a quarter of the electorate. This came out in huge numbers, partly helped by UKIP's threat but also against the backdrop of Labour's opposition to getting involved in military action in Syria.

Dangers ahead

While 2015 was not the year UKIP was hoping for, it would be foolhardy to write it off. Time and again in recent years, it has proved to do better in local elections than appears probable at the beginning of each year, with a late surge in the polls ahead of local elections in both 2013 and 2014.

With migration, terrorism and community cohesion more generally dominating the news, nothing suggests that this year will be any different.

But, more importantly, this year will be dominated by the EU referendum and with this vote likely to be held on 23 June, the issue will clearly loom large over May's elections.

The referendum vote will have a huge impact on UKIP's future. If Britons vote to leave then the entire *raison d'être* will appear to have gone, and certainly many of its funders – and its sole MP – will believe its job is done. The party leadership will then have to decide whether to transform UKIP into a more openly radical right-wing populist party.

If Britain votes to stay in the EU then UKIP could become an even more dangerous beast as it risks doing to Labour in the Midlands and the North what the SNP did to Labour in Scotland.

With the mainstream REMAIN campaign focused solely on winning, there is a danger that Farage could head off into the sunset – like a modern day Pied Piper – with an ever more, marginalised, ignored and resentful 45% of society. ●

NEW BLOOD

As European fascists living in Britain play an increasingly active role in the British nazi scene, *Matthew Collins* investigates the growing presence of the Polish group NOP

WITHOUT A HINT OF IRONY, one of the most active far-right groups in the United Kingdom is the *Narodoiwe Odrodzenie Polski* ("National Rebirth of Poland" – NOP).

Mainly centred in London, Manchester and the South East, this relatively small group of Polish nazis, fewer than a hundred of them in all, have breathed life into the Blood&Honour (B&H) network and provided much needed muscle in street confrontations between fascists and anti-fascists. British nazi activists, mainly from National Action (NA) and Eddie Stampton's National Front splinter "New Dawn" are particularly enamoured with their violent and hardline antics.

In June 2015, twenty Polish nazis attacked a free music festival in Tottenham, North London, stabbing an alleged member of a group of Polish anti-fascists that had organised to confront them. The nazi gang had organised under the name *Zjednoczeni Emigranci Londyn* (United Emigrants of London) but was mainly made up of Polish B&H supporters drawn from NOP's ranks in London. Police said a man – aged 22 – was arrested for racially aggravated common assault after a later assault on a Jewish man.

Formed in 1981 as an underground movement under Communist rule, NOP is the longest surviving post-war Polish nazi group. Originally a youth movement, in 1992, in its own words for "legal convenience", NOP registered as a political party. Since 2001, the party

has taken part in the electoral process in Poland, polling miserably.

Its website – which also now has an English section for its UK-based members and supporters – calls for the "death" of the "Enemies of the Polish Fatherland." NOP appears to have become domiciled in Britain after 2010 as some of its youthful members followed the trend of travelling overseas in search of work and adventure.

In February last year, the group featured at London demonstrations that included supporters of the Greek nazi Golden Dawn and the Jeremy Bedford Turner of London Forum infamy. NOP's most important link up, though, is with National Action with NOP taking a prominent position at the so-called "White Man March" in Newcastle-on-Tyne in March last year where self-styled recruiters from the Ukrainian fascist paramilitary force, the Azov Battalion, were also present. The day ended miserably for them, however, when NOP supporters fought in a pub with rival fascists, coming off second best.

At a "White Pride World Wide" demonstration in Manchester in March, Greater Manchester Police detained a number of its masked members after clashes with anti-fascists.

Last summer, NOP organised a couple of demonstrations of its own. One, attended by both National Action and the Misanthropic Division, was in support of Janusz Waluś, the convicted murderer of the African National Congress's Chris Hani. Waluś is currently

serving a death sentence, commuted to life imprisonment, in South Africa. The group has also supported Stampton and Bedford-Turner at their anti-Jewish demonstrations in London.

In keeping with their strict regimen of Jew-hating, heavy drinking and violence, a delegation from NOP was also welcomed to the 75th birthday of the Holocaust-denying Bishop Richard Williamson in London shortly before he was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church.


The group's main contact in the UK appears to be former British National Party high-flyer Kevin Layzell, a bespectacled waif-like figure of ridicule, whom the group appears to have adopted. Layzell had led the group into a police trap in Wigan instead of the disastrous foray by National Action into Liverpool in August.

This seems to have now been forgiven and Layzell remains their main contact and friend on the British far right. At the National Front's (NF) annual march to the Cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday in November, members of NOP marched with the NF's splinter group New Dawn, even though the two groups had earlier clashed in a London pub.

Layzell was next part of a small party of English fascists who reciprocated, making a trip to Poland that same month to join the party's drunken festivities to mark Poland's national day. As well as representing the National Front, Layzell also spoke on behalf of the teen terror gang National Action and was in Poland for Christmas and the New Year.



MUSLIM EXTREMISM IN BRITAIN



**BRITISH
SOLDIERS
BURN IN
HELL!**

Understanding Muslim Extremism

by Malik Ali

IN A NEW DEPARTURE for HOPE not hate, this year's *State of Hate* report explores extremism within Muslim communities.

Muslim extremists are as much against our HOPE not hate values of equality, tolerance, fairness and democracy as the extremism found amongst our traditional opponents on the far right. Just as we oppose the hatred and intolerance of white racists, so we should stand opposed to it in any other quarter too.

We accept that the term "extremism" is a highly contested. To state the obvious, any extreme is in relation to, and a measure of distance or degree away from the middle ground. It is also clear that extremism, conceptualised or processed internally, is quite often different between Islamic or religious thought on the one hand and within our contemporary political discussion on the other. A middle path avoiding transgression is central to the very language of the Quran and synonymous with both righteousness and salvation.

Many Muslim activists or groups often regard themselves to be within normative parameters – bizarre as it will sound, even ultra violent organisations will judge themselves in this way. Consequently, government-speak about extremism is received as selective at best and as a malicious tool for attacking Islam at worst.

Government and mainstream definitions of extremism have evolved over time. The pre-occupation of early counter-terrorism policies when the Contest Strategy was developed in 2003 seemed to be to counter *violent* forms of extremism. The second version of the Prevent strategy was renamed Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) under Ruth Kelly, Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, in 2007 to perhaps signify this. Subsequent revisions under Hazel Blears, and more so after 2010 when the coalition government came in, began to address non-violent forms of extremism as well.

The counter-argument to this has often been a vociferous claim that government, with its poor awareness of religious dynamics and very low levels of religious literacy, risks conflating religious conservatism with extremism.

This argument has not always been heard, partly because of the perception that the term "religious conservatism" is, at times, used as a mask for ideas that

may promote intolerance, homophobia, misogyny, etc.

As much as one may argue that theology is the domain of religious communities, it is hard to see that hatred and prejudice (even if non-violent) towards others can be regarded as acceptable under the rubric of "theological freedoms" and autonomy.

One of the problems of understanding extremism within Muslim communities that quickly becomes apparent is that extremism is a diffuse phenomenon spread across different parts of the spectrum of Muslim thought. It is not one that can be easily isolated to just one group or denomination.

This makes the subject all the more

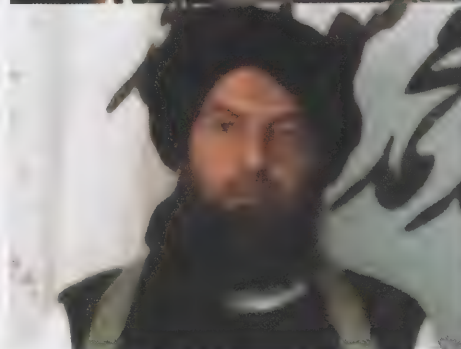
teachings at their core. As with any such fairly simplistic categorisation, there is considerable (and confusing) overlap, and there is a range of dynamics (and tensions) within each category.

In recent years, the role of social media has changed the mechanism by which such extremist undertones are shared, thereby bringing greater challenges in locating such ideas. Whereas prior to this, some form of "thought locating" could be used to map a rough picture by typology and mission, the loose, individualist and ultra-responsive nature of social media means that much here has changed.

Previously distinct camps are replaced with heated conversation threads that



Abu Rumaysah, Dr Mirza Tariq Ali and Junaid Hussain. Three British-based jihadists who skipped bail to join the Islamic State and the Taliban



sensitive as labelling must be done with great care. There are extreme Salafis and liberal Salafis, extreme Sufis and liberal Sufis, extreme Islamists and liberal Islamists, etc.

For the sake of simplicity, extremism within Muslim thought can be placed in six categories. (1) Salafism / Wahhabism / Ahl al-Hadith; (2) Traditionalist conservatism; (3) Political Rejectionism; (4) Revivalism / Islamism; (5) Anti-Establishment / Anti-Israel / Non Religious; (6) Jihadism / AQ / ISIL.

Some of these groups are non-violent in practice and in thought and many expressly advocate anti-violence

bring together individuals from across different thought-schools for a single moment. A multiplicity of individual players, who can act as agitators and protagonists, plays to a responsive digital market where feelings of victimhood, hypocrisy, foul play and agendas are becoming rooted.

Over the coming year, HOPE not hate will develop, in partnership with others, its understanding of extremism within Muslim thought but, for now, we focus mainly on Islamist and pro-Jihadist groups operating in the UK and those that help create the narrative for violent extremism.



Hizb ut-Tahrir

HIZB UT-TAHRIR (HT) is an international pan-Islamic organisation whose main aim is to unite all Muslim countries into a single Islamic state, or Caliphate, under strict Islamic Law.

Originally founded in 1953 in Jerusalem by Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, a Palestinian court clerk, the organisation has become truly global in its reach. Currently under the global leadership of Ata Abu Rashta, HT has a membership possibly as high as one million people across 40 countries.

Hizb ut-Tahrir: Beliefs

HT's interpretation of Islamic law results in the numerous extreme and illiberal positions laid out in its draft constitution. HT is an outspoken opponent of Western-style democracy, instead favouring a single, elected Khaleefah with suffrage restricted to male Muslims only.

Its views are brutally misogynist, and it argues that "the primary role of a woman is that of a mother and wife," and women are not allowed to "take control of ruling" which bars women from becoming a *Khaleefah* or a judge. It also demands the segregation and the covering up of women. HT also calls for homosexuality to be made illegal and strongly opposes same sex marriage.

As well as calling for Israel's destruction, it has openly stated: "In origin, no one likes the Jews except the Jews. [...] The American people do not like the Jews nor do the Europeans, because the Jews by their very nature do not like anyone else."

Taji Mustafa, chief media mouthpiece of HT UK, claims the chief cause of street sex grooming is "the liberal values of the society that we live in," and that "People need to question the liberal values which have led us to where we are."

HT treads the legal line very finely and, despite the government feeling unable to proscribe the group, it is clear that it aims to create an Islamist state, and its aggressive rhetoric distinguishes it as an extremist organisation.

HT is rigorously hierarchical and run centrally from the Middle East, unlike groups like Al-Qaeda that operate loosely on a franchise model.

Originally focusing its efforts in the Arab world, HT did not become active in Britain until 1986 when Syrian-born Omar Bakri Muhammad, formerly a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, founded the British group and nurtured it from its tiny beginnings into one of Britain's most active and sizeable Islamic organisations with an estimated membership of around 8,000. Bakri Muhammad led HT for ten years before splitting away in 1996 to form the even more extreme Al-Muhajiroun.

HT's core international aim, as stated above, is the re-creation of a unified and centrally administered Islamic state ruled under strict Islamic law. However, unlike proscribed Islamist groups such as Al-Muhajiroun, it claims to restrict its desire for a Caliphate to existing Muslim countries.

In the UK and the West it claims that it is focused solely on "building the case for Political Islam and defending the *Ummah* and Islam."

Controversies

While HT remains legal in Britain and most of Europe, it is outlawed in Russia and in countries across the Middle East and South Asia and Central Asia. Its legality in Britain remains an issue of contention. Following the London bombings in 2005, Tony Blair announced his intention to ban the group but backtracked after warnings that such an action might drive it underground. Current PM David Cameron also supported a ban while in opposition but has not acted against it whilst in Government.

Though the organisation is explicitly committed to non-violent methods, there has been continual criticism over its extremism and, while not engaging in terrorist acts, it has been accused of being a "conveyor belt for terrorists." In the past, indeed, it has supported violent and terrorist groups like Islamic Jihad, Hamas and Jama'ah Islamiyyah.

And, though outwardly more moderate in the UK in recent years, in the 1980s and 1990s, it published leaflets calling for Jews to be killed. On the eve of the first Gulf War, Bakri Muhammad called on Muslims to assassinate John Major. And, in 2003, for example, while searching the homes of failed suicide bombers Omar Khan Sharif and Asif Mohammed Hanif, following their unsuccessful attempt to blow up a bar in Tel Aviv, police found HT literature.

It is, thus, hardly a surprise that HT is still regarded as an ideological training college that, while abstaining from terrorism itself, creates fertile recruiting ground for more extreme organisations.

Hizb-ut-Tahrir's tentacles

BEING SEMI-SECRET, organisations that are extensions of Hizb-ut-Tahrir (HT) can be spotted through their specific language and through the willingness of their activists to offer practical support in community outreach.

Formal links can rarely be spotted and may not exist. In either case they are often denied. HT will also partner a range of organisations to mask its influence or control over partnering initiatives of the kind set out below.

■ **CAGE** – An advocacy organisation focused on the impact of counter-terrorism measures, made headlines over its links to the British ISIS murderer “Jihadi John”. Its spokesperson, Asim Qureshi, is a senior HT figure.



Asim Qureshi

■ **HHUGS** – Similar to CAGE, Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS) is a UK-registered charity that provides support and advice to Muslim households affected by counter-terrorism measures and has active grassroots support from HT's activists.

■ **5Pillarz** – 5Pillarz is an online newspaper that has recently enjoyed considerable growth. Although it brings together a range of writers, its editor, Muhammad Dilly Hussain, is a strong advocate of HT's ideology.

■ **Islamic Shakhsiyah Foundation Schools** – The Shakhsiyah (Personality) Foundation, which has two independent primary schools – in Slough and London – and two day care centres, has been at the centre of heated discussions over its links with HT, coupled with the fact that it receives state funding. The first school was set up in 2002 with the majority of central management and pupils having clear HT connections. After various resignations, the school was cleared of having an official link. However, in 2015, one school was failed for failing to teach British values.

The non-violent narrative for violent extremism

Sara Khan



London-based barrister Ibtihal Bsis

In July 2015, a BBC South Today investigation revealed how Ibtihal Bsis, a London-based barrister, had toured at least nine cities across the UK “educating” Muslim women on what the Counter Terrorism Security Act means for them.

Bsis is most well known for being a deputy Media Representative for the Islamist organisation Hizb-ut Tahrir (HT) and, more recently, for speaking at CAGE events nationwide.

In her talks, Bsis spent some three hours delivering a diatribe against “the West” and arguing that Muslims living in the UK are suppressed. Islam, she suggested, is being criminalised in the UK. “People are scared of you because you’re Muslim.” UK authorities, she went on, had deliberately ensured the EDL becomes stronger to intimidate Muslims.

To cement her audience's paranoia, she also stated that their phones, Facebook accounts and texts are being monitored. The toxic atmosphere generated would have left some with feelings of fear and resentment against the UK.

In what can only be described as an ISIL apologia, she told Muslim women that the authorities are lying about ISIL and that ISIL is not a large brutal group but a small battalion and that “the West” has fabricated the image of this murderous cult.

The picture painted by Bsis and others like her in HT is that the West is at war with Islam but that equally Islam is at war with the West and Muslims have no choice but to pick a side.

Undoubtedly, the push factors leading people to join ISIL include strong anti-Western sentiment. But, they also do so because of a lack of belonging, feelings of marginalisation and isolation from British society.

There is little doubt the impact 9/11 had on Muslim youth but these Islamist grievance-based narratives are dangerous because they exploit marginalisation and anti-Western rhetoric by legitimising such feelings.

The likes of Bsis, engaging in a politics of fear, drum up support for that Islamist agenda.

■ Sara Khan is director of Inspire, a counter-extremism and women's rights organisation.

Al-Muhajiroun

AL-MUHAJIROUN is the best known of British Islamist groups, partly because of its provocative antics providing the tabloid media with a pantomime villain but also because of the involvement in terrorism of so many of its supporters.

Its aim is the creation of world ruled by strict Islamic law, or *Sharia*, under the leadership of a single religious leader known as a *Caliph*.

Omar Bakri Mohammed founded the group after he split from Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) of which he had been a leading member. While HT claimed to restrict its desire to create a caliphate to existing Muslim countries, Bakri and his young disciple, Anjem Choudary, called for "direct political struggle" for a caliphate in Britain.

One of the key elements of al-Muhajiroun's ideology is the premise that UK Muslims should abandon any attempt at integration or co-existence. It even goes as far as to dissuade followers from associating with non-Muslims and uses parts of the Quran – taken out of context – to prove to its followers that complete alienation

from their non-Muslim surroundings is necessary and required.

The group's name al-Muhajiroun is Arabic for "emigrants" and refers to the Prophet's migration to Medina in 622. In the Quran, the Prophet's journey from Mecca to Medina is seen as an important point in the life of the early Muslim faith and, in modern times, the idea has been used by some like al-Muhajiroun, to call for the faithful to remove themselves from the failings of the wider community.

The emphasis on hammering a wedge between Muslims and their host communities has led to full-blown denunciation of the ideas of secularism, multiculturalism and integration.

Al-Muhajiroun has also been vocal in attacking mainstream and moderate British Muslim organisations that seek to build engagement and understanding between different communities and faiths.

Most worrying of all is the tacit defence of terrorism and the attack on those who seek to stop it.

Al-Muhajiroun and a number of successor organisations (inc. Saved Sect and al-Ghurabaa, Muslims Against Crusades, IslamUK and, more recently, Sharia4UK)

have all been banned by the British Government.

Gateway to terror

HOPE not hate has long argued that Al-Muhajiroun is a gateway to terror. Over 100 people linked to the group have been involved in or convicted of terrorism or terror-related offences.

They include the murderous 7/7 London tube bombers, the Financial Centre bomb plotters (2004), the fertiliser bomb plotters (2007), the Christmas bomb plotters (2010) and the killers of British soldier, Lee Rigby (2013).

According to Raffaello Pantucci, author of *We Love Death as You Love Life*, over half of all convicted Islamist terrorists in the UK have been linked to al-Muhajiroun. Many more have been convicted for lesser offences.

Cheerleading for ISIS

If anyone entertained doubts about the seriousness of the al-Muhajiroun threat then the rise of the Islamic State has provided all the evidence needed to quell them.

Scores of al-Muhajiroun supporters have left to join IS, including two men who subsequently blew themselves up in suicide missions and Abu Ramaysah, now known in the media as "Jihadi John". Like several other al-Muhajiroun supporters, Abu Ramaysah skipped

bail in 2014 and absconded to Syria to join IS.

The activities and movements of dozens of al-Muhajiroun associates, coupled with their promotion of the IS cause on social media, not only in the UK but internationally, have clearly led the authorities to move against the group. In the past 16 months, dozens of its supporters have been arrested, convicted or banned from using the internet or social media.

The list includes Abu Haleema, a prominent London activist, named in court as being in regular contact with the 14-year-old Manchester schoolboy convicted for trying to encourage the Australian extremist Sevdet Besim to behead a soldier.

A large chunk of the al-Muhajiroun leadership appears to have been arrested and either convicted and imprisoned or is awaiting trial. In the absence of its more prominent leaders, the group's new spokesman is Mohammed Shamsuddin.

Those fleeing to join IS and the wave of arrests have severely depleted the organisation's ranks but it remains active in East, South and West London, Slough, Cardiff, Luton, Derby, Birmingham, Stoke, Leeds and Leicester.



(left to right)
Abu Haleema,
Abu Ramaysah and
Mohammed Shamsuddin

Hate preachers

by Tehmina Kazi



Haitham al-Haddad

Haitham Al-Haddad is a Saudi-trained imam, formerly of the Al-Muntada Centre in Parson's Green. He is a senior judge at the Islamic Sharia Council in Leyton, a teacher at the Tayyibun Institute in Whitechapel, and founder of the widely-read Islam21c.com website.

Al-Haddad's views are problematic because:

- a) They transcend mere conservatism, and end up in supremacist and separatist territory.

Here are two of his quotes on establishing Islam by the sword, the relevant "conditions" for doing so, and the overriding goal of global Islamic domination.

"So, and establishing Islam by sword, this, I'm not denying it by the way, but I'm saying it is the last resort once all conditions are met, yeah? We need an Islamic state and we need kind of Khilafah, and we need to give people dawah, and we need to give it time, and they need to see the role model of al-Islam."

"Our ultimate aim is not a matter of taking over using this terminology, our ultimate aim as Muslims is to have, to see Islam spreading all over the world and to see the word of Allah dominant on the whole globe, because justice will never be achieved unless the word of Allah is dominant."

- b) He has endorsed – or sought to make excuses for – practices that are serious criminal matters (offences against the person) in the UK, including domestic violence and female genital mutilation.

"...a man should not be questioned why he, OK, hit his wife because this is something between them. Leave them alone. They can sort out their matters among themselves. And even they said that the husband, the father of the daughter, she is married to a man, he should not ask his daughter why you have been beaten or hit by your husband. Why? Because al-Islam is looking for the bigger picture in order to keep the relationship between the husband and wife together."

"The sunnah way of doing it, the proper way of doing it, it is the consensus of all the scholars that female circumcision is a sunnah. I haven't come across any scholar who said it clearly that it is not sunnah. All of them they said that it is sunnah, in fact some scholars say it is wajeb (obligatory)."

Haddad quotes various hadiths that would claim female circumcision is a "virtue" or an "honour" for women, or that it is "likely to give chastity for the private part and is better for the husband".



Abdurraheem Green

Abdurraheem Green is a British Salafi Muslim convert (since 1989), who is known in some Muslim communities for his missionary work, particularly on the Peace TV channel. He has delivered talks at universities across the UK, and on international platforms such as the Peace conference in Mumbai. Green is the founder and chairman of iERA, the Islamic Education & Research Academy.

Abdurraheem Green's views are problematic because:

- a) He attempts to justify "hudud" punishments, and seemingly makes no attempt to place them within a historical context.

"Adultery is punishable by death, and a slow and painful death by stoning. It is indicative of just how harmful this crime is to society."

"We want to create an environment where it is encouraging people to be good, otherwise what is the point in the hudud? What is the hudud? Why you chop the hand off the thief? Why you stone the adulterer and the adulteress to death? Why do you chop the hand and the leg of the one who commits highway robbery and leave them to bleed to death or crucify them? All of this is to deter the people from being evil and committing evil. Why is the person who drinks alcohol, who is a drunk, whipped eighty times in public? All of this is to deter the people from being evil."

- b) He actively speaks out against freedom of conscience and religion, as enshrined in the Human Rights Act.

"They have written in their Charter of Human Rights, their charter of kufr, their charter of calling people to rebel against Allah. In this charter it says that one of the rights of the human being is to choose their religion, one of the rights of the human being is that if they change their religion they should not be intimidated in any way. They should be left to change their religion and to follow whatever they want. This charter of the human right is in direct opposition to what Allah has revealed. The right of the human being is in fact the opposite of that. The right of the human being is to be pressurised to follow the true religion, that they should be living in an environment where they are encouraged or even forced to remain upon the truth that will take them to paradise and keep them away from the hellfire."

- c) He actively opposes democracy, and states that Islam is not compatible with it.

"Let us ask if democracy means that sovereignty is with the people, that the people have the right to decide what's halal and haram, and it's up to them, then no Muslim with any mustard seed's worth of iman (faith) can agree with this."

So, on the basic very philosophical level we have to say Islam is not compatible with democracy."

STATE OF HATE INTERNATIONAL OVERVIEW

By Graeme Atkinson





2015 DREW TO A CLOSE more or less as it began: with murderous attacks on Paris by far right Islamist extremists.

The 13 November Islamic State (IS) killers outdid the gunmen who attacked *Charlie Hebdo* on 7 January, killing 130 people in a series of co-ordinated assaults on a rock music venue, cafés and restaurants and on the Stade de France as France played a football international against Germany. In January, seventeen people were murdered. In between, in March, other Islamist terrorists launched an onslaught in Copenhagen killing two people, one of them at the city's Great Synagogue.

The 13 November atrocity in Paris was Europe's biggest and deadliest terrorist attack since the Islamist Madrid train bombings of March 2004 that claimed 191 lives and caused injuries to more than 1,800 people.

The Paris terror outrages have been a key factor in temporarily galvanising the extreme right in some European countries where these same elements have tried to capitalise on the influx of almost a million refugees into the European Union (EU) over the course of the year.

Significantly both the far right and huge swathes of the mass media across Europe have worked feverishly to conflate and equate migration, Islam, terrorism and widespread anxieties about public security and distribution of social and economic resources by relentlessly presenting those fleeing terror in the war-torn Middle East as a potential "enemy within".

The fact that some of the IS terrorists involved in the November attacks actually posed as refugees and exploited the massive refugee crisis to move to and fro across Europe lends dubious credence to this particularly nasty aspect of the deluge of racist propaganda that that has flooded the mass media – Germany has been an exception, somewhat – and propaganda tracts of the far right alike.

The politics of conflation proved so attractive to the far right as to be irresistible in 2015. Every far right organisation of every stripe – whether populist, fascist or simply organised racist – has picked up this theme and used it to try to extend and underscore its own relevance.

They have been able to do this with varying degrees of competence and, as in Hungary, take up anti-Islam rhetoric in place of antisemitism. Elsewhere in the EU, the extreme right – especially its "parliamentary" expression – and the Islamophobic mainstream right

have tried hard to profit politically from the chaos engendered by the mass population movement and have seen some partial advances. In Austria, Denmark, Sweden, France, Italy and Poland this has been the case but in different ways.

Peculiarly, in Hungary, a rapid assumption of hardline Islamophobia – coupled with building walls along Hungary's borders to keep out refugees – by the country's ultra-right wing prime minister Victor Orbán has resulted in a serious slippage of support for the fascist Jobbik which had, up to the refugee crisis and the Paris mass murder rampage, been busy cementing itself firmly into place as Hungary's third party.

Orbán has stolen Jobbik's political clothing in a cynical but skilful move aimed at shoring up his own reputation but what is dangerous is that Jobbik – one of the EU's most successful far right outfits – has been instrumental in pushing him and his ruling Fidesz party so far to the right that they are now in open competition for the title of "furthest to the right".

In Austria, the extremist Freedom Party (FPÖ) has managed, Vienna excepted, to profit richly from the concerns raised by the country's impromptu role as a transit zone for refugees heading to Angela Merkel's more accommodating Germany.

In Vienna, the centre-left Social Democrat Party (SPÖ) won the Vienna state election in October despite sizeable gains by the FPÖ which recorded its best-ever result in Austria's capital but which did not meet the hopes generated by regional elections in Upper Austria where it doubled its vote to over 30% and won second place behind the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP).

Post-election surveys in Vienna and Upper Austria indicate the powerful impact of the refugee crisis by showing that for more than 65% of voters in both locations the crisis was the main factor in deciding whom to vote for. In September alone, more than 200,000 refugees (mainly from Syria) had entered Austria, most of who continued onwards to Germany.

Thus, the FPÖ had an easy chance to conduct emotional, right-wing populist campaigning despite even toning down its hateful rhetoric compared with previous campaigns.

In France, too, a steadily advancing Front National (FN), buoyed up by fat loans from a Russian bank, has had some success in manipulating society-wide fears of further terrorism, dissension at the Tweedledee, Tweedledum, politics of president François Hollande's Socialists and Nicolas Sarkozy's opposition

Republicans and general despondency at the state of the economy and the resulting austerity. Right up to the second round of the elections to France's thirteen new regional councils on 13 December, the FN looked unstoppable.

One UK daily even engaged in nonsense about the FN "controlling France" but as an increased voter turnout demonstrated, the French do not want the FN, its leader Marine Le Pen and her horde of authoritarians who want to turn France into a cheapskate echo of the notorious wartime Vichy regime.

They reject her efforts to turn her grotesque vision of a new and horrible France in which Liberty, Equality and Fraternity would be brutally recycled as Repression, Discrimination and Division – into a reality.

Result? On 13 December, more than 3.5 million previously abstentionist voters flocked to the polling stations to erase the FN from the betting to go over the 50% needed to win in any of the regions. Voter turnout leapt from around 50% in the first round to over 59% per cent in the second and was especially high in the regions where the FN had expected to triumph.

Not quite "routed", the FN suffered a reverse on the same level as its much touted (by the media) victory in the first round. Despite its evident discomfiture, masked in her post-results speech by a level of bluster by Marine Le Pen that previously only her easily combustible father was thought capable of, it was not all failure.

The FN captured a hefty chunk of the electorate – 6.8 million votes and 27.87%...both increased with its noxious mixture of Islamophobic, racist anti-immigrant and security-fixated rhetoric that melded the legitimate worries of French people into something just as bad.

The comments of French prime minister, Manuel Valls, after the vote were strikingly apt: "Tonight," he said, "there is no relief, no triumphalism, no message of victory...The danger of the far right has not been removed – far from it – and I won't forget the results of the first round and of past elections."

The biggest lesson of France is that, the goodwill and determination of voters provided, the FN can be politically annihilated at the polls before it can get its hands on the political driving wheel.

The next big test will be Le Pen's personal bid to become French president in the spring of 2017, a campaign she will resoundingly lose as recent polls indicate that 60% of French voters have signalled that they will never vote for her or her

cosmetically-altered fascist party.

In Germany, too, much will depend on popular goodwill if a three-pronged attack from the nationalist right on the Christian Democrat/Social Democrat coalition is to be repulsed.

In the summer, chancellor Angela Merkel took the brave decision to welcome large numbers of refugees to Germany. However, as the social and economic implications in terms of housing, health, employment and educational resources became plain, public worries mounted and the far right jumped in.

First in the field was the formerly mainly anti-EU Alternative for Germany (AfD) looking to mop up the "discontented" quasi-racist vote. It is currently showing 9% in the polls, enough to propel it into the federal parliament. Also on the scene are the street movement PEGIDA now more or less limited, and with much reduced effectiveness, to its erstwhile Dresden "stronghold" and the violent nazi scene that has, through its own direct action and incitement of others, helped ramp up the toll of anti-migrant violence.

The inconvenience they cause notwithstanding; these forces have been unable to make serious impact on the wider political situation. Their influence on public opinion is still marginal and it is public opinion, not them, that has forced Merkel's government into a reluctant retreat.

Across the border in Denmark, the situation is somewhat different because, driven by fear of the right-wing Islamophobic populist Danish People's Party (DPP) and cheered on by them, Lars Lokke Rasmussen's right-wing Danish government has ratcheted up anti-immigration measures including shortening asylum permits, sharply reducing social benefits for refugees and placing adverts in Lebanese newspapers to discourage migrants from attempting to settle in Denmark.

The latest schemes to be concocted by the government, enthusiastically supported by the DPP, are to allow the police to confiscate cash amounts over 3,000 kroner (£294) from refugees, take their jewellery and to charge asylum-seekers for their stay in refugee centres. The DPP does not need seats in a government it holds sway over. As to the "outside right", it is impotent and redundant. Its political strength is now dissipated and it is incapable of intervention, even after the terror attacks.

In Sweden, the extremist Sweden Democrats (SD) are working hard to emulate the DPP and to act as the main



(left to right) Marine Le Pen, Geert Wilders (Freedom Party) and Gábor Vona (Jobbik)

point of pressure on the centre-left coalition there and help to force it to reverse the country's formerly liberal and generous asylum policies and to reimpose *inter alia* border controls and identity checks.

There is no doubt that, like its Danish ally, the DPP, the SD has been successful in its unending efforts to subvert humanitarian policies. There is no suggestion that the SD has been behind the wave of violent attacks on refugee centres that appear also to have worried the government.

Other countries have launched into anti-refugees measures with some gusto. Poland, now with a newly elected right-wing Law and Justice (PiS) government, is taking a tough stand on Europe's migrant crisis, refusing to take in refugees under the EU's redistribution programme. PiS is a Eurosceptic party that is against immigration, wants family-focused welfare spending and has threatened to outlaw abortion and in-vitro fertilisation.

Its new foreign minister, Witold Waszczykowski, has baldly stated that Europe needs to "approach the Muslim community living in Europe, which hates this continent and wishes to destroy it, in a different fashion."

The Polish extra-parliamentary right can mount big street demonstrations that chant "No Islam, no atheists, a Poland for Catholics," and can burn effigies of Jews but, as Waszczykowski demonstrates, the forces that can do the real damage are sitting in the Polish cabinet and clearly view the even more extreme extremists as a kind of "stage army".

What does 2016 hold for the "respectable" far right? Most probably it will be more of the same, the far right, like a worm, expanding at one end and contracting at the other. Politically influential and media present in Italy and the Netherlands, Matteo Salvini's Lega Nord (LN) nor Geert Wilders' Freedom Party (PVV) have significantly raised their profiles by whipping up "resistance" to the arrival of migrants.

Salvini, however, is beset with difficulties with the rest of the Italian right and the ever-truculent Wilders is now under heavy fire for refusing to condemn violent incidents that his own bigotry has incited.

Nevertheless, it is the likes of Salvini, Wilders, Le Pen and anti-immigrant populists like Jimmie Åkesson (SD) and Kristian Thulesen Dahl (DPP) who have set the tone for the "respectable" far right and who are the political accompaniment to the near gravitational and ongoing shift to the right in most of the EU.

Though not able to form a solid front – nationalists find internationalism difficult – they run the far right show and can be expected to consolidate their oppositional minority position in their respective countries in the next year.

In their scheme of things, almost totally centred on breaking into the mainstream and staying there, there is not really room for organisations like the Greek nazi Golden Dawn or the Hungarian fascist Jobbik who generate far more fear than trust despite having established a degree of political resonance.

The rest of the European "outside" right has little prospect of becoming successful and might revert to type very quickly if there are more events like in Paris on 13 November or the mass sex assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve. If it does resort to reprisal activities and terror, especially in Germany and Sweden, it will incur the wrath of the "parliamentary" far right whose own efforts could be destroyed as a result.

In late 2014 and early 2015, the emergence of the Islamophobic PEGIDA street movement grabbed international headlines with big – and relatively unchallenged – rallies in Dresden and, later, with much smaller and heavily opposed demonstrations elsewhere in Germany and abroad.

The movement has largely fizzled out after the fifteen months of existence and, despite the effort to revive it with a "Europe-wide Day of Action" on 6 February, that downward spiral is likely to continue. The "great white hope" has turned into a washout, reflecting again the failure of the far right at all levels to extend its political reach fully despite a veritable array of favourable conditions and the continuing enfeeblement, and seeming inability to renew itself, of its historic enemy, the left.

In 2016, the parliamentary far right will plug away in the forlorn hope of conquering power. And the non-parliamentary extreme right? We must hope frustration at its impotence will not lead it once more to attempt to address that situation by lashing out in the kind of violence that only losers can perpetrate.

War and Peace at

By Liz Fekete

Something remarkable happened this summer. While politicians squabbled over a European Commission plan to resettle 32,000 refugees from Greece and Italy, a European community of civilian volunteers appeared, seemingly from nowhere.

The first response of the politicians to the migration crisis that has seen at least 850,000 people arrive in Europe this year had been a military one. They wanted the smugglers' boats bombed. But the civilian volunteers responded by forming networks to feed, clothe and shelter refugees across the length and breadth of Europe. Medical care, family reunification and translation services were also provided.

One volunteer, Edit Fenýó, told *Hungarian Spectrum* that while at times she felt overwhelmed by the "gigantic scale of human suffering" she encountered, the "massive scale of humanitarian activism" and being a part of "one of the largest transnational humanitarian collaborations in Europe's history" had inspired her.

Edit's humanity was not reflected in the statements of many elected politicians. In November, the leaders of Hungary, Slovakia and Poland, the prime minister of Bavaria and the president

of the Czech Republic made cynical use of the terrorist attacks in Paris to build more walls against refugees – all refugees are Muslims and all Muslims were potential terrorists, it would now seem.

Viktor Orbán's premiership has turned Hungary into a pit of racism, corruption and authoritarianism, yet he could well become the *de facto* leader of the Right across eastern Europe.

On 18 November, Orbán rushed legislation through parliament enabling him to take legal action against the most recent EU scheme to resettle 160,000 refugees across the Schengen area. "Brussels cannot challenge the right of member states to defend themselves", he said. Poland's new government echoed Orbán and, disappointingly, the Danes have also broken a promise to take in just 1,000 refugees.

Meanwhile, humanitarian workers along the Balkan migration land-routes report that, since the 13 November Paris attacks, all migrants from Africa and southeast Asia are being refused entry. Greece, in turn, is fearful that it will be turned from a transit country to a holding country, through the domino effect of European nations closing their borders. Walls, razor-wire fences and other barriers are becoming the norm across the Continent.

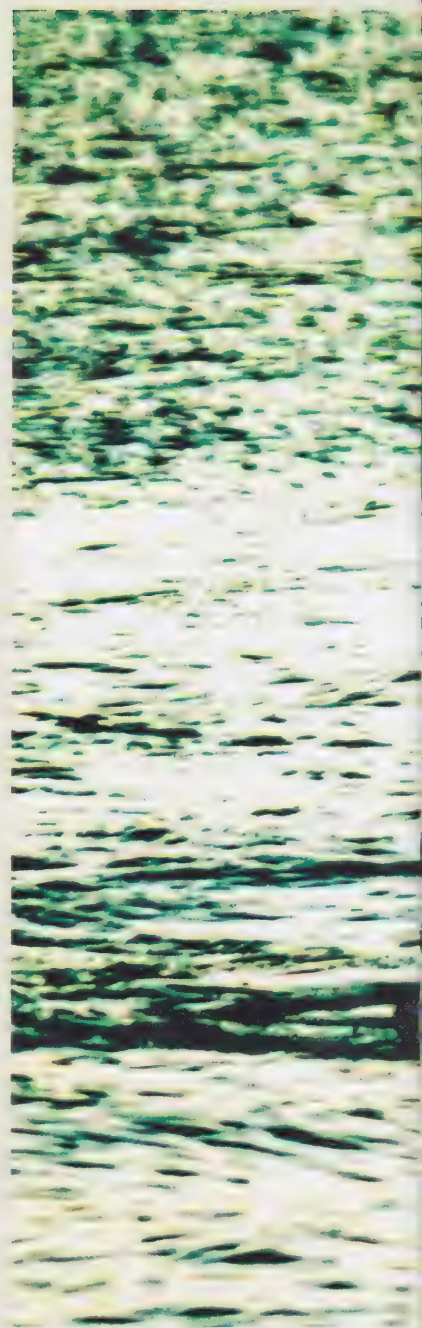
Dehumanisation and demonization

To understand how Europe has failed itself, we need to flash back to the spring and summer of 2015. It took five governmental summits for a deal of sorts on the humanitarian crisis to emerge. At the first special summit on migration on 23 April, the 28 heads of state and government could not agree on a plan to resettle just 10,000 refugees.

But as the tide of bedraggled and exhausted refugees just kept coming, forming a dangerous bottleneck at the Serbian and Hungarian borders, Angela Merkel showed leadership in suspending the operation of the Dublin regulations and creating a passage for war refugees from Syria to pass into Austria and Germany.

Following this, intense pressure was put on other Schengen countries to agree a scheme to relocate 160,000 throughout Europe based on a carefully calculated quota system. The UK and Ireland are outside Schengen. But while Ireland opted into the quota plan, David Cameron said that the UK would instead take 20,000 refugees direct from the refugee camps in Jordan to be resettled over a period of five years – which works out at just eleven refugees per day.

All this shilly-shallying was accompanied by a



Europe's borders





(above) Northern League's Giovanni Pinto
(right) Firebomb attack in Sweden
(below) Migrants in Calais
Photo: Jey-OH-photographie



reckless and dehumanising anti-refugee rhetoric. Refugees were represented in the media as toxic waste, a dangerous mob, human flotsam, an unstoppable flood and a terrorist threat.

In the UK, they were compared with insects, through the use of inflammatory terms such as “swarms of people” (British PM David Cameron) and “like cockroaches” (*Sun* columnist, Katie Hopkins) and “marauding migrants... threatening our standard of living” (Philip Hammond, UK foreign secretary).

The Conservative Party is part of the European Conservatives and Reformists

grouping in the European Parliament which includes the authoritarian Law and Justice Party, which won the Polish general election in November.

In the run-up, the party's president Jaroslaw Kaczynski said Poland should not take “migrants” as they are Muslims who “will not obey our law and customs” and will “aggressively impose on us their mentality”, adding that they bring “cholera to the Greek islands, dysentery to Vienna” and “various types of parasites”.

In October, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, had accused some European

politicians and media outlets of descending into “xenophobia and outright racism”.

The language of saturation and invasion brought to his mind the 1938 League of Nations Conference, at Evian-les-Bains, when various governments refused to take in Jewish refugees from the Nazi Reich on the grounds that they would destabilise their societies and put pressure on their economies.

Acting in short-term self-interest, whipping up distrust, spreading hostility instead of curbing it: this has been the way too many politicians have responded. Italian police used bulldozers

and trucks to destroy a makeshift camp near the French border in Ventimiglia; Hungary constructed a wall at the Serbian border (with the use of prison and workfare labour); the Czech interior ministry demanded cultural compatibility of those relocated and the governor of Lombardy threatened to financially penalise northern Italian prefects who went along with the national relocation plan, prompting the mayor of the Sicilian port town of Pozzallo to describe the leaders of northern Italy as “heartless” and “selfish” for not working with the government to solve the crisis.

And then, after the Paris attacks, one by one, like sheriffs in the Wild West, eastern European leaders have taken a gun to the EU relocation plan, joined in this by Matteo Salvini, leader of Italy's Northern League, whose vitriol led Giovanni Pinto, director of Immigration and Border Control, to observe that it was increasingly difficult to protect refugees "from angry citizens".

The rhetoric from powerful extreme-right politicians legitimises populist protests and violence. By November, 25 accommodation centres in mostly rural areas of Sweden where the far right Sweden Democrats are strong had been firebombed. Refugee camps in Italy's northern regions are also under constant attack by far-right protesters.

The Identitarian Movement (Austria), National Democracy and Bloc Against Islam (Czech Republic), Casa Pound (Italy), the Dutch People's Union, the National Democratic Party of Germany, various defence leagues and would-be branches of Pegida are amongst those organising mayhem.

In Germany, Pro Asyl and twenty-four German rock bands launched "Time to Act", calling for action against nazis setting fire to accommodation centres and carrying out attacks using catapults with steel ball bearings, wooden clubs and butyric acid.

Where militarisation leads

Fascism does not just hatch eggs on the margins of society. History shows that authoritarian and militarised societies nurture an ethos within law and order agencies that opens them to far right penetration.

Only recently, we saw this in Greece where Golden Dawn nazis carried out a deep and systematic infiltration of the military and police, particularly the border guard (for whom immigrants have replaced "the Communist threat") and the infamous anti-riot squad DELTA (with

its reputation for beating up migrants).

The hideous Paris carnage, the failure of intelligence services to work together to conjoin information on terrorists crossing borders, the new counter-terrorism powers given to Frontex, the Warsaw-based border agency, are all driving forward a new, right-wing law enforcement agenda.

Already, this autumn, as the refugee crisis deepened, the registration and fingerprinting of refugees took precedence over providing food and shelter, with border officers associated with acts of great cruelty and brutality.

At the Bulgarian-Turkish-Greek border, riot police shot at refugees with stun grenades. Rounded up in their thousands from makeshift camps in Kos, and locked into a stadium for 24 hours, refugees gasped for air and begged for water from riot police who used a sonic explosion to maintain order.

Hungary has spent 98 million euros, at least three times as much as it has spent on migrant and refugee integration, erecting a 109-mile razor-wire fence at its border with Serbia. Its military and riot police are now authorised to use rubber bullets, tear gas, grenades and pyrotechnical devices.

In violent scenes on 16 September, refugees on the Serbian side of the Hungarian fence at the border town of Röszke were attacked with tear gas and water cannon by riot and anti-terrorist police, injuring at least seven children. Also at Röszke, refugees were herded into pens and thrown food as though they were pigs or zoo animals.

In the Czech Republic, police dragged refugees off trains, proceeding to identify them by a number written in marker pen on their forearms. Bulgaria, meanwhile, has built a 30km razor-wire fence along part of its border with Turkey, with watchtowers and 2,000 border guards.

In October, police there shot dead 19-year-old Ziaulah Wafa, an Afghan refugee, claiming a warning shot had ricocheted. Sharon Silvey, a British volunteer at the Dimitrovgrad refugee camp in a Serbian town just four kilometres north of the Bulgarian border, says that border police beat the refugees, set dogs on them and made them stand naked in holding cells while spraying them with cold water.

Further west, Human Rights Watch has documented police violence, including beatings and attacks with pepper spray, against asylum seekers and migrants, including children, at Calais.

A deep moral crisis

By October, frontline volunteers like Edit Fenyő had had enough of their governments' dysfunctional approach that was leading to endless queues at the borders. In an Open Letter to the Governments of Europe they gave advance notice "to all of you, the leaders of Europe, that people will be freezing to death soon on our borders if you do not act now".

Even as their letter appeared on the computer screens of European civil servants, the mayor of the Greek island of Lesbos was making plans to build a new cemetery, not for the 3,440 boat people who, according to the UNHCR, had died from January-October 2015 in the Mediterranean and Aegean seas, but for those that he predicts will die in the coming winter months as a result of conditions *inside camps*.

Volunteers reporting children passing out with hypothermia and cases of gangrene had to stand by helpless as parents resorted to wrapping their children in rubbish bags to try to keep them dry.

More than 4 million refugees from Syria (95%) are in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. Europe, the richest continent in the world, is being asked to help just 5 per cent. Just as with

their wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria, western political leaders seem either not to know or not care how our treatment of displaced people is viewed by people in the Middle East, Asia and Africa - countries which know us as the continent of colonialism, the transatlantic slave trade and fascism.

It is a dark legacy that we may wish to "move on from" (a phrase used by David Cameron during a recent visit to Jamaica), but for many non-Europeans, historical amnesia is what defines the European way of life.

Fascism is also a set of ideas about human life and human dignity. Hitler's academics coined the term *Lebensunwertes Leben*, "Life unworthy of life". When the British Foreign Office refused to take part in search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean, arguing that saving lives would only encourage more migrants to come, it was coming perilously close to echoing a racial doctrine about which lives are worth saving, and which not.

Fascist ideas linger on across much of Europe and are now mainstream in Hungary, a country that has a tiny Muslim community and has not experienced one single act of 'Islamic terrorism'.

In Europe, we face a moral crisis, a crisis of European identity. Civilian volunteers have shown the way forward. But if a leaked confidential report by German criminal intelligence, identifying refugees and civilian volunteers as among the most likely targets for nazi attacks, is anything to go on, they will need more than our solidarity in the months ahead.

No matter what differences anti-fascists have about how best to combat "ISIS", surely we can all agree on the need to establish peace, not war, at Europe's borders. ●

EUROPE'S COLD CHILL

How Europe is turning against refugees

AUSTRIA: Austria's far right Freedom Party (FPÖ) won over 30% of the votes and came second in Vienna and some other state elections. Polls show it is the second most popular party in Austria, but still lags behind the ruling Social Democrats. Mirroring developments in Hungary, the FPÖ has called for a border fence for Austria and stricter border controls.

BULGARIA: Bulgaria's Orthodox Church called on its government to prevent a Muslim "invasion". "We help refugees who have already arrived in our Motherland, but the government must absolutely not let more refugees in", church officials wrote on their website, adding that the problems in the refugees' countries of origin "must be resolved by those who created them and the Bulgarian people must not pay the price by disappearing."

CROATIA: Croatia's interior minister Ranko Ostojić said his country cannot accept any more people after 7,300 people crossed the border in 48 hours. Croatia's president Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović asked the army to be ready, if necessary, to protect its borders.

CZECH REPUBLIC: Czech President Miloš Zeman warned that Muslim refugees will not respect local laws and mores but will instead seek to implement Sharia law. Only after protests did the Czech government stop arresting refugees, marking them on their forearms and detaining them for up to 42 days.

DENMARK: The Danish government has placed adverts in Lebanese newspapers with the message "Don't come to Denmark". More recently, it has begun seizing any valuables from arriving refugees to pay for accommodation. It has also erected border controls with Germany.

FINLAND: Finland has announced tightened controls over its northern border in an effort to curb the flow of refugees arriving by land. In an incident in late September, around 40 Finnish racists, one dressed in Ku Klux Klan costume, attacked a bus, carrying asylum seekers from Iraq, with stones and fireworks. Arson attacks at refugee reception centres have also been reported.

FRANCE: Marine Le Pen compared the 2015 refugee crisis with the "barbarian invasion" of the Fourth Century and said the only reason Germany is welcoming refugees is because it has a "moribund population" and hence "is probably seeking to lower wages and continue

to recruit slaves through mass immigration". One French MEP and member of the main French opposition right-wing party, Les Républicains, said: "We're a Judeo-Christian country of white race. We respect France. And if you don't want to adapt, you can go."

GERMANY: After initially making a positive stand to accept Syrian refugees, German leader Angela Merkel has had to tighten controls and limit new arrivals to a stay of just one year due to increased public anxiety, including voices being raised in her own coalition government. It has also begun sending hundreds of asylum seekers back to Austria every day. There have been at least 450 attacks, 93 of them arson, on refugee shelters in Germany this year. Two-thirds of the attacks were carried out by locals with no previous criminal record but 34 percent of the suspects were part of the fascist scene.

GREECE: The record numbers of refugees arriving on the Greek islands have put enormous strain on aid organisations who have reported "beyond horrific" conditions in camps there. Greek PM Alexis Tsipras has described the unfolding situation as a "crisis within a crisis."

HUNGARY: Hungary's ruling Fidesz party has stepped up implementation of its anti-migration rules allowing the detention of migrants in controversial camps, the speeding up of asylum assessments and limiting the possibility of appeal and has overseen the construction of barbed wire fences along the country's borders with Serbia and Croatia. Hungarian PM, Viktor Orbán said: "We shouldn't forget that the people who are coming here grew up in a different religion and represent a completely different culture. Most are not Christian, but Muslim... Is it not worrying that Europe's Christian culture is already barely able to maintain its own set of Christian values?"

ITALY: After Austria, France and Switzerland refused to settle some of the thousands of migrants entering Europe via Italy, Matteo Salvini, leader of the far right Northern League, said the country's national security is at risk because of the refugees: "TB and scabies do not come from Finland. Unfortunately, with a backward health system in North Africa, these people report illnesses that we had defeated for years". **MACEDONIA:** Closed its border with Greece in December to those refugees who could prove Syrian, Iraqi or Afghan citizenship.

NORWAY: Norway's immigration authorities launched an advertising campaign to deter refugees from seeking asylum in the country, including a threat to repatriate back to Kabul Afghan refugees who have crossed over from Russia.

POLAND: Jarosław Kaczyński, leader of the new ruling Law and Justice Party, said refugees have brought diseases like cholera and dysentery to Europe, as well as "all sorts of parasites and protozoa, which ... while not dangerous in the organisms of these people, could be dangerous here." 10,000 far right supporters demonstrated in several Polish cities, in September, against plans to resettle refugees in Europe and chanted slogans such as "Today refugees, tomorrow terrorists!" and "Poland, free of Islam!"

SLOVAKIA: Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico has made a number of Islamophobic statements including "Slovakia is built for Slovaks, not for minorities" and "the mass migration of Muslim immigrants who would start to build mosques will not be tolerated" as well as calling for the "restriction of the freedom of Muslims in Europe". Faced with expulsion from the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats group in the European Parliament, Fico later denied making these comments.

SLOVENIA: In response to 110,000 refugees and migrants entering the country in just two weeks, equivalent to 5% of the country's population, the Slovenian prime minister, Miro Cerar, said "If necessary, we are ready to put up the fence immediately."

SWEDEN: Responding to public opposition to the large numbers of new arrivals, Sweden has requested other European countries take more refugees. It has also erected border controls, for the first time in 50 years, to stop refugees coming from Denmark. A number of buildings designated to house refugees have been attacked.

SWITZERLAND: Refugees arriving in Switzerland have to turn over to the state any assets worth more than 1,000 Swiss francs (£690) to help pay for their upkeep.

UK: The government announces that the UK will take just 20,000 Syrian refugees over the next five years as David Cameron talks about "swamping" and Home Secretary Theresa May makes one of the most hardline and strident anti-immigrant speeches in years.

Asylum claims in Europe 2015*

Total EU claims

530,265



No data

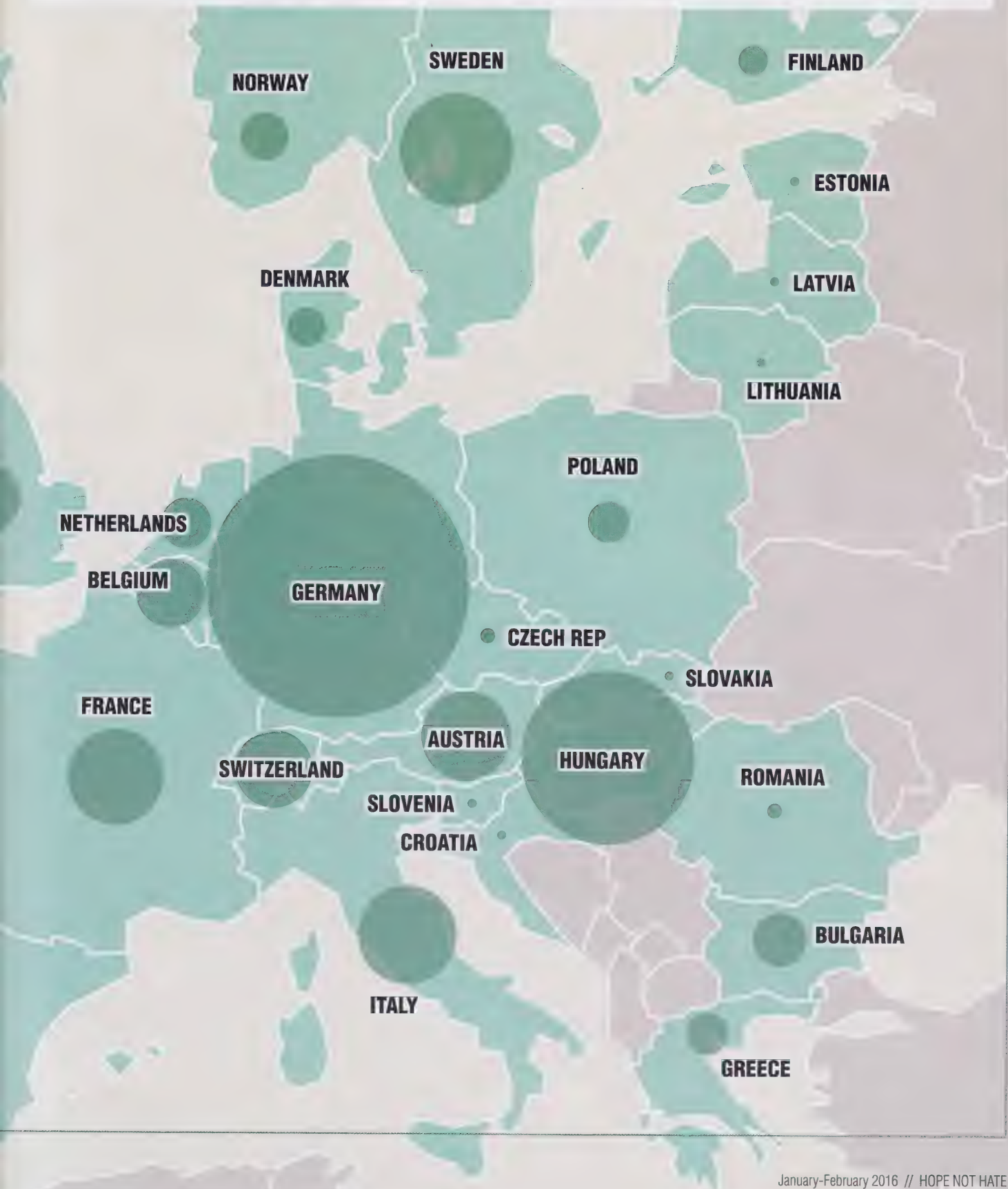
Number of asylum claims

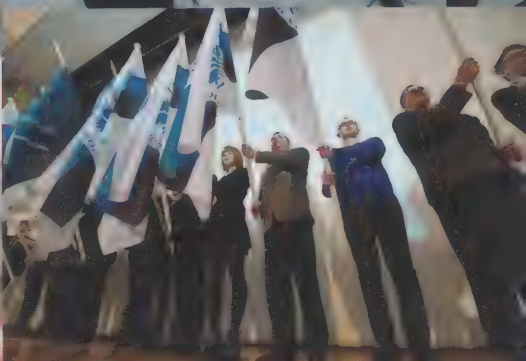
* All data is at least to end of June. It is to the end of August where available.

** Map also shows claims for non-EU members Norway and Switzerland.

Source: Eurostat/BBC

100 1,000 10,000 50,000 100,000





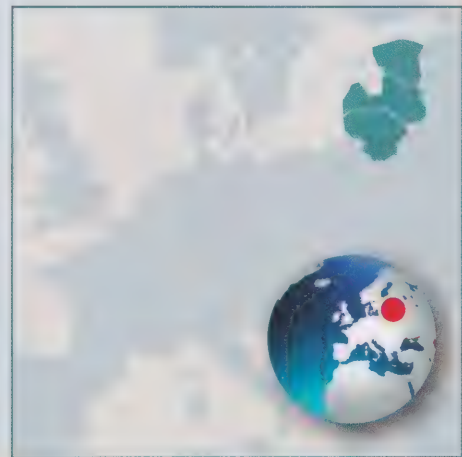
BALTICS

ESTONIA BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	EESTI ISESEISVUSPARTEI (Estonia Independence Party). Founded 1999.
Political description	Uses the Celtic cross as emblem. Ethno-nationalist
Leader(s)	Sven Kivisilnik aka Sven Sildnik (b.1964)
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	1,047 votes (0.2%) in 2015 parliamentary election (2,571, 0.4%) in 2011
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-European Union. Its geopolitical view supports Estonia as a self-reliant country keeping good relations with Russia
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	Leadership change in April 2015 with Vello Leito (b. 1941) leaving, his presidency having proved unsuccessful
Prospects for 2016	No breakthrough in sight

LITHUANIA BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	TAUTININKU SAJUNGA (Nationalist Union) Formed in 1924 in support of Augustinas Voldemaras, the nationalist autocrat who ruled until the 1940 Soviet invasion Re-emerged in 1990
Political description	Ethno-Nationalist. Opposed to immigration, the European Union and Russia Organises annual march in Vilnius to commemorate independence on 11 March under the slogan "Lithuania for Lithuanians"
Leader(s)	Julius Panka and Ricardas Cekutis
Membership size	Demonstrations in Vilnius and Kaunas draw around 1,000
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	0.94% in 2012 parliamentary election, as part of the "Lithuania for Lithuanians" coalition
Main areas of activity	Now active against "colonisation" by immigrants, supports Hungary's stand on refugees Set up a network with Pravyi Sektor (Ukraine); VL-NNK (Latvia); Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond (Estonia); Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists and Belarus National-Democratic Party
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation	No progress made
Prospects for 2016	No breakthrough imminent because the anti-immigration, anti-Establishment political slot is filled by the Order and Justice Party (TT) of impeached former President, Rolandas Paksas



LATVIA BY ALEKSANDR KUZMIN

Main organisation	NATIONAL ALLIANCE (NA) "All for Latvia!" – "For Fatherland and Freedom"/LNNK (in Latvian: Nacionālā apvienība "Visu Latvijai" – "Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK")
Political description	A coalition of national conservatives and far right
Leader(s)	Raivis Dzintars and Gaidis Bērziņš
Membership size	829 (2015 data)
Parliamentary representation	17 seats in the 100-seats Latvian Parliament. 1 seat in the 751-seat European Parliament.
Vote in last national election	2014 (October, Parliamentary election) 151,567 votes 16.61%
Main areas of activity	Anti-linguistic (mainly Russian) minorities, anti-immigrant
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation	Throughout the year, the NA remained in the governing coalition, with three ministerial portfolios but on 7 December 2015, the cabinet resigned. No new cabinet has been formed yet Until June, Latvian presidency of the EU imposed some limit to the NA's divisive rhetoric and activities but it has been able to use tensions with Russia to present the numerous (though, to a large extent, stateless and thus voteless) Russian minority in Latvia as a threat NA failed in pushing its candidate, Egils Levits, to the presidency in June's elections but did gather 26 MPs to support him. NA has been able to profit from its stance against taking refugees, not fully succeeding but being able to keep the number of refugees Latvia agrees to take below eight hundred Many NA MPs (sometimes, most of them) have tried to block a package of bills providing for return of property to the Jewish community but the bills have been moving forward, nevertheless
Prospects for 2016	A tactical retreat to opposition might be the NA's best option. Thus, it could advance by blaming its former partners for the accepting the refugees arriving in 2016. In case of NA remaining in power in the new cabinet, the forecast is stability or stagnation

SCANDINAVIA

(left to right)
Jimmie Åkesson,
Kristian Thulesen Dahl,
Siv Jensen and
Timo Soini



SWEDEN BY ANNA-SOFIA QUENSEL

Main organisation	SWEDEN DEMOCRATS (SD) Founded in 1988, the SD's roots lie deep in fascist outfits like the Sweden Party and the earlier hardcore racist Bevara Sverige Svenskt (Keep Sweden Swedish). Today, it claims to be "social conservative" and "nationalist"
Political description	Anti-immigrant populist with strong anti-Muslim and anti-European Union policies
Leader(s)	Leader: Jimmie Åkesson Key Officials: Richard Jomshof, Mattias Karlsson
Membership size	22,346 (own figure)
Parliamentary representation	49 seats in 349-seat Swedish Parliament 2 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Votes in last national election	September 2015 parliamentary elections: 12.86%, 801,178 votes
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Islam with energetic local campaigning
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	Support for the SD grew steadily throughout 2015, making it (according to recent polls) the third largest party. In November, it took a further leap to 19.9%. The party has benefitted immensely from the refugee crisis and used it to its own advantage, calling it a catastrophe and claiming that Sweden is on the verge of a collapse that will ruin its welfare system
Prospects for 2016	As other parties have adopted immigration policies close to the SD's positions and more or less closed the borders, it is difficult to predict the resulting outcome for the SD. Should the Social Democrat and Green Party government fall, there is a risk of a conservative government. The major conservative party, the Moderaterna, and the Christian Democratic party have – so far – rejected SD offers of a coalition It is important to remember that the major backbone of the Sweden Democrats – besides its views on immigration – is its populist ideology: the small person against the elite and its relentless attacks on the so-called "politically correct media"

NORWAY BY TOR BACH

Main organisation	PROGRESS PARTY Founded in 1973 in protest at high taxes, it is an anti-immigration, right-wing populist party that attracts close to 20% of the vote and is part of the current government coalition together with the Conservative Party
Political description	Anti-immigrant right-wing populist
Leader(s)	Siv Jensen Deputy leaders: Per Sandberg and Kjetil Solvik Olsen
Membership size	16,342 (per 31 December 2014)
Parliamentary representation	29 MPs in the 169-seat Norwegian Parliament
Votes in last national election	National elections 2013: 463,560 votes/16.3% of the vote
Main areas of activity	Anti-refugee campaigning is its current main theme. The party's holding several ministries, ranging from immigration, justice and fishery to equality and families does not deter it
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	The Progress Party managed to capitalise on the refugee crisis and get support in parliament for many of its proposals
Prospects for 2016	As long as the Progress Party can keep the debate on asylum and integration alive, it will probably grow slightly but if the debate refocuses on taxes and social issues, it will probably regress

**FINLAND** BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	THE FINNS PARTY (PS) Formerly the True Finns (Perussuomalaiset)
Political description	Finnish nationalist and right-wing populist, opposes NATO and the European Union Wants drastic limits on immigration and asylum-seeking
Leader(s)	Deputy PM and foreign minister Timo Soini (b.1962)
Membership size	10,000 in 2014
Parliamentary representation	38 seats
Vote in last national election	Parliamentary election, 2015: 17.7% (524,054 votes) – second Finnish party
Main areas of activity	PS stands for entrepreneurship and Christian values, but wants to maintain the Finnish welfare state MEP Jussi Halla-aho represents the party's radical ethnicist, anti-Islam wing He is a member of Suomen Sisu, a like-minded think-tank of which 3 MPs from PS are members
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	In May, PS became a partner in the ruling coalition of the Centre Party and the National Coalition Party, holding the balance of power PS now holds the portfolios of foreign affairs, justice, defence and social affairs
Prospects for 2016	Because of its inability to deliver on EU-related issues, PS slumped to 10.7% in an October 2015 opinion poll This downward trend may continue

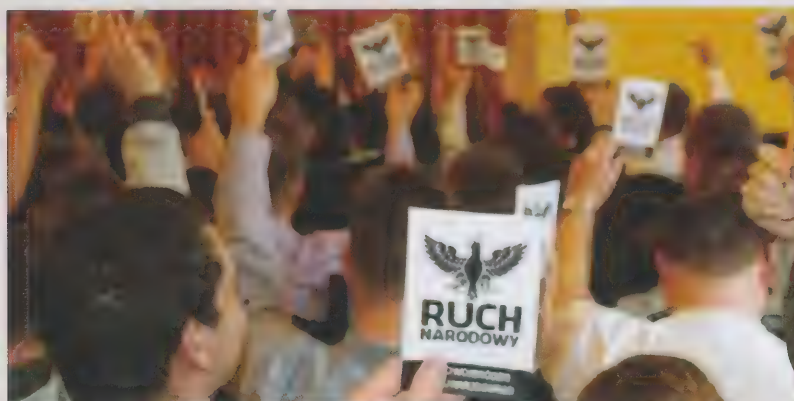
SCANDINAVIA FAR RIGHT**DENMARK:** Danish People's Party**FINLAND:** The Finns Party**NORWAY:** Progress Party**SWEDEN:** Sweden Democrats**DENMARK** BY ANNE JESSEN

Main organisation	DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY (DPP)
Political discipline	Right wing populist, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim
Leader(s)	Kristian Thulesen Dahl Vice-president Søren Espersen
Membership size	14,000 (2014)
Parliamentary representation	37 seats in 179-seat Danish Parliament 3 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	June 2015 Parliamentary elections: 21.1%, 741,746 votes
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, critical of the European Union. Against refugees. Against international Human Rights. Claims loudly to be solving the problems of working people and the elderly
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	In 2015, the DPP had its best election ever. The party is now the biggest mainstream party. It is very active in anti-EU campaigning
Prospects for 2016	The party is still popular. In spite of being the biggest mainstream party, it rejected becoming part of the Lars Løkke Rasmussen's liberal party (Venstre) government The DPP has made a lot of political compromises that were not for the benefit for unemployed and other poor people, garnering criticism from their own voters The Danish European Union referendum held in December 2015 – where 53% rejected closer EU ties and legal rules – was very convenient for the DPP which had a huge success in the campaign. 2016 seems destined to be a good year for the party

EASTERN EUROPE

POLAND BY RAFAL PANKOWSKI

Main organisation	NATIONALIST MOVEMENT (RUCH NARODOWY – RN) Founded 2014 by members of the All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska, MW) and National-Radical Camp (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny, ONR)
Political description	Extreme right-wing
Leader(s)	Robert Winnicki
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	Approx 10 MPs in the 460-seat Polish Parliament, including 5 party members and 5 known sympathizers. The RN group is a part of the populist Kukiz'15 movement that has 42 MPs in total
Vote in last national election	The RN ran on the Kukiz'15 ticket which won 1,339,094 votes (8.81 per cent of the national vote) in the 25 October 2015 election
Main areas of activity	The RN openly draws upon the antisemitic tradition of the Polish far right going back to the 1920s and 1930s. It also campaigns against the Roma minority. In the recent months it has emphasized its anti-Muslim and anti-refugee stance. It is also strongly anti-European Union and viscerally homophobic
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	The RN suffered a defeat in the presidential election on 10 May 2015 when its candidate, Marian Kowalski, won just 0.52% of the vote. However, it managed to enter parliament a few months later by joining the broader populist Kukiz'15 movement which is a major success for the group. On 11 November 2015, the RN organised its biggest street march to date, with some 50,000 participants on the streets of Warsaw
Prospects for 2016	The RN will continue use its presence in parliament to promote its far right agenda and increase its influence in the months and years to come



CZECHIA BY MIREK PROKEŠ

Main organisation	ÚSVIT – NÁRODNÍ KOALICE (DAWN – NATIONAL COALITION)
Political description	Anti-immigrant populist, anti-European Union
Leader(s)	Marek Černoč
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	8 seats in the 200-seat Czech Parliament
Vote in last national election	October 2013 elections (as Dawn of Direct Democracy): 6.88%, 342,339 votes
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Muslim
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	After a major split in the movement, it has been stagnating
Prospects for 2016	2016 is likely to see further stagnation as its opinion poll ratings slide significantly



(left to right)
Robert Winnicki,
Marek Černoč,
Gábor Vona and
Andrej Danko

EASTERN EUROPE FAR RIGHT



HUNGARY: JOBBIK



JOBBIK



SLOVAKIA: Slovak National Party



CZECHIA: ÚSVIT – Národní koalice



POLAND: Nationalist Movement





HUNGARY BY ISTVÁN TÓTH

Main organisation	JOBBIK (THE MOVEMENT FOR A BETTER HUNGARY) Founded as a party in October 2003. Its predecessor organisation (a "movement") was called the "Right-wing Youth Community" consisting of primarily conservative university students
Political description	Nazi and ultra-nationalist (Jobbik, however, considers itself a conservative and radical patriotic Christian party). There is ongoing debate about Jobbik, but there is a wide consensus in Hungary that it is an anti-Roma, antisemitic and xenophobic party
Leader(s)	Gábor Vona, Chairman Vice-Chairmen: Elod Novak, Janos Volner, Tamas Sneider, Istvan Szavay, Daniel Z. Karpát Gabor Szabó, Chairman of National Caucus
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	24 seats in the 199-seat Hungarian Parliament 3 seats in the 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	In the 6 April 2014 parliamentary elections, Jobbik got: 20.22%, 1,020,476 votes (becoming the third strongest party in Hungary)
Main areas of activity	Anti-Roma, antisemitic, xenophobic, anti-immigration, and anti-European Union. It has close ties with extremist and paramilitary groups (like the Guards' Alliance, the Outlaws' Army and the Sixty-four Counties Youth Movement). It is a pro-Russian, pro-Turkish and, until the refugee crisis, a pro-Islam party
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	Until September 2015, Jobbik's support was on the rise (17 percent of all voters), but it fell by a third from September to November 2015, reflecting its failure to become a "people's party". Despite that, Jobbik still regards itself as the main challenger to the ruling right-wing conservative Fidesz-KDNP Coalition which now has 34% support
Prospects for 2016	Sensing the growing anti-Muslim attitude in Hungary, Jobbik is quietly jettisoning its previous pro-Islam stance



SLOVAKIA BY ALENA KREMPASKA

Main organisation	SLOVAK NATIONAL PARTY (SLOVENSKÁ NÁRODNÁ STRANA – SNS) Founded 1989
Political description	Slovak nationalist party, racist
Leader(s)	Andrej Danko
Membership size	6,000
Parliamentary representation	Since the last national elections in 2012, SNS has not been represented in the Slovak Parliament
Vote in last national election	2012: 116,420 votes, 4.55%
Main areas of activity	SNS was, for decades, known above all for its strong stances against Hungarians and Slovakia's Hungarian minority Its nationalist rhetoric is aimed at "defending traditional values", vigorously opposing women's rights and LGBT rights, scapegoating the Roma minority and scorning multiculturalism
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	With its flop in the 2012 elections when the party failed to enter Parliament, SNS has seemed to be heading towards oblivion Since the end of 2014, however, the party has gained renewed attention due to its opposition to LGBT rights, culminating with the referendum on LGBT rights in February 2015 With the refugee crisis hitting the European Union, SNS has leapt on the bandwagon of the anti-immigration populism and Islamophobia, gaining important points in the opinion polls before March 2016's national election
Prospects for 2016	According to the polls, SNS may gain as much as 6.3% of the vote which would bring it back into Parliament. There is a possibility the ruling party SMER-SD may even opt for SNS as a coalition partner

BALKANS

SERBIA BY DASKO MILINOVIC

Main organisation	THE DVERI MOVEMENT, a political party renamed and reregistered in 2015 from the previous movement Serbian Assembly Dveri – a think tank and pressure group
Political description	Clerical fascist (merging Serbian Orthodoxy and state corporatist ideology)
Leader(s)	Boško Obradović
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	The next regular or snap election will be its electoral debut as a political party. It will go into coalition with the also (but less) right-wing DSS (Democratic Party Of Serbia) and is expected to enter the Serbian Parliament with 5-7% of the vote
Vote in last national election	May 2012 Parliamentary elections 4.34%, 169,590 votes
Main areas of activity	Anti-European Union, pro-Russia, homophobic and anti-modern, anti-immigration, antisemitic and anti-Muslim
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	After reregistering as an official political party able to enter the electoral race, Dveri presents itself as a new, radical opposition and is gaining popularity by doing so. Expected to draw disappointed far right voters who now have a "new" party on the menu
Prospects for 2016	2016 is likely to see growth by Dveri but a failure to enter parliament might spell the early end of it as has been the case with most of the extreme right-wing parties

BALKANS FAR RIGHT



SERBIA: The Dveri Movement



CROATIA: Hrvatska Čista stranka prava



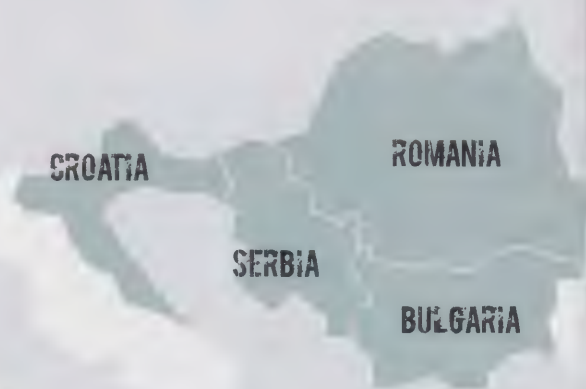
ROMANIA: MISCAREA POPULARA



BULGARIA: ATAKA

CROATIA BY CVIJETA SENTA AND DRAŽEN HOFFMANN

Main organisation	HRVATSKA ČISTA STRANKA PRAVA – HČSP – CROATIAN PURE PARTY OF RIGHTS Founded in 1992, the HČSP claims to be ideologically derived from the ultra-right-wing party of the same name active in the early 20th century and which advocated Croatia's right to self-determination for Croatia at a time when the country was part of Austria-Hungary and, later, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia
Political description	Fascist, anti-immigrant populist, counter-Jihadist, homophobic, extreme nationalist
Leader(s)	Josip Miliak (president) Luka Podrug (political secretary) Dalibor Durđov (vice president)
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	1 seat (pending) in 151-seat Croatia Parliament HČSP's political secretary Luka Podrug ran on the election list of the eight-party Domoljubna koalicija/Patriotic Coalition of right-of-centre parties, comprising eight parties that won 59 parliamentary seats in elections held on 8 November 2015 Podrug ran as HČSP's sole representative but the party as a whole was not stated to be a member of the registered Patriotic Coalition. His parliamentary status is, thus, still to be resolved
Vote in last national election	November 2015 parliamentary elections: Candidate Luka Podrug got 5.02%, 5,103 preferential votes
Main areas of activity	Historic revisionism, anti-ethnic minorities, violently anti-LGBT, anti-immigrant, anti-European Union
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	In October, the party successfully staged an anti-immigration protest – which gathered little attendance or visibility – in Zagreb's main square However, should Podrug enter parliament, this would be the party's first parliamentary seat since 2000 and its profile could rise slightly
Prospects for 2016	Stagnation is the best description of this party's state in the last decade and, barring a surge in public anti-immigration sentiment, this trend is set to continue



ROMANIA BY ELISABETH POP

Main organisation	MISCAREA POPULARA (POPULIST MOVEMENT PARTY – PMP) Founded in July 2013, around former Romanian state president Traian Basescu, his family and friends, PMP is a personality cult for one of the most controversial presidents Romania has had in its short 26 years of democracy
Political description	Populist, anti-immigration, counter-Jihadist
Leader(s)	Traian Basescu, Elena Udrea, Eugen Tomac
Membership size	100,000
Parliamentary representation	4 seats in 572-seat Romanian Parliament 1 seat in 751-seat European Parliament
Votes in last national election	November 2014 presidential elections: Candidate Eleana Udrea finished fourth 5.20%, 493,376 votes
Main areas of activity	Nationalist, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, anti-European Union
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	After previous infamous episodes in which he called a journalist asking uncomfortable questions a "filthy Gypsy" and hit a child in the face on live TV, Basescu's populism reached new nationalist expression in 2015 He repeatedly called for the authorities to refuse acceptance of any "so-called refugees" because "Romania is a Christian Orthodox country" and labelled most Muslims as terrorists. He also loudly opposed the suggestion that a "mega mosque" be built in Bucharest, saying that it would amount to betrayal of the "national interest" and of "our ancestors who fought for our Christian faith and Romanian culture and once managed to keep them [Muslims] away from Vienna's gates" While Basescu received media attention for his populist rants, Elena Udrea was busy spending time in jail on charges of money laundering and use of undue influence during her tenures as Tourism Minister and Local Government Minister, positions to which she was appointed by Basescu
Prospects for 2016	The PMP will remain at the forefront of the current wave of nationalism and xenophobia showing its face at every level in Romanian politics, media and public debate



BULGARIA BY ELISABETH POP

Main organisation	ATAKA (ATTACK) Founded in April 2005 as a coalition of several organisations around Volen Siderov, a charismatic former journalist and TV talk-show host
Political description	Populist, ultra-nationalist
Leader(s)	Volen Siderov
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	11 seats in 240-seat Bulgarian Parliament 0 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Votes in last national election	2014 parliamentary elections: Ataka finished 7th 4.52%, 148,262 votes
Main areas of activity	Nationalism, antisemitism, anti-Roma, anti-Turkish and anti-Islam
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	In the 2013 parliamentary election, the party increased its seats to 23 with 7% of the vote – making it the fourth largest party and one of the kingmakers in that parliament Despite the refugee crisis and Bulgaria's ongoing economic problems, the 2014 elections saw the party reduced to 11 seats The trend of decline continued in 2015, when, in local elections, Ataka came in 6th with 3.1% of the vote. Were these parliamentary elections, this would be below the threshold for entry to the National Assembly
Prospects for 2016	With Ataka's confirmed downfall on the Bulgarian political scene, its leader appears more determined than ever to remain in the limelight by getting involved in scandals and hooliganism. In late October 2015, Siderov faced having his parliamentary immunity lifted once more after he and a group of Ataka supporters stormed the National Academy for Theatre and Film Arts (NATFA) in protest at its refusal to allow Ataka elections posters to be displayed on the building while, inside, "multicultural, EU propaganda was peddled"

(top to bottom)
Traian Basescu,
Volen Siderov and
Boško Obradović





(left) Heinz-Christian Strache

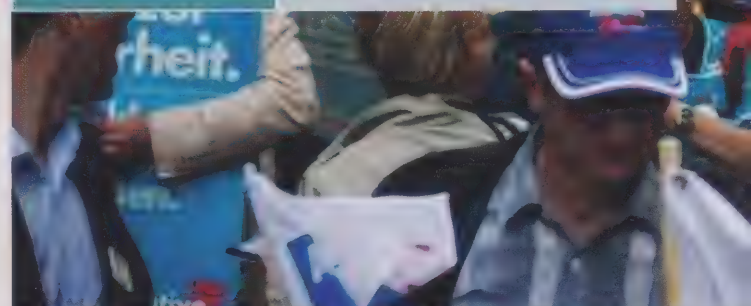
(right) Frauke Petry, Jörg Meuthen and Alexander Gauland

AUSTRIA BY MARTIN JORDAN

Main organisation	FREEDOM PARTY OF AUSTRIA (FPÖ) Founded 1955 to serve as a vehicle for former Nazis and German nationalists, who had been unable to join either of the two main parties (Social Democrats–SPÖ or the conservative People's Party – ÖVP), to integrate into the Second Austrian Republic
Political description	Right-wing populist with roots in National Socialism
Leader(s)	Heinz-Christian Strache (party leader) Herbert Kickl (General Secretary, PR & Communication) Harald Vilimsky (General Secretary, EU-Parliament & International Delegations)
Membership size	50,000 (own figure 2014)
Parliamentary representation	38 seats in 183-seat National Council (Lower House) 9 seats in 61-seat Federal Council (Upper House) 2 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	September 2013 national elections: 20.5%, 962,313 votes
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Islam, opposition to the European Union and German nationalism
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	2015 was a major election year in which the FPÖ made significant gains in all state elections. In the Vienna state and municipal elections the FPÖ recorded its best-ever results, winning second place with 30.79 % In the Upper Austria state election, it doubled its vote to over 30%, coming second and forming a ruling coalition with the ÖVP. In Burgenland, the FPÖ also increased its popular vote and came third with 15%, whereupon the winner, the SPÖ, invited it to form a ruling coalition in the province Municipal elections in four federal states showed more mixed results for the FPÖ, losing almost half its constituency in its former stronghold Carinthia, doubling its seats in Styria and gaining slightly in Vorarlberg and Lower Austria
Prospects for 2016	The only elections taking place in Austria in 2016 are April's presidential elections and municipal elections in Tyrol. The next national parliamentary election is scheduled for 2018 for which the FPÖ is currently seen as serious contender for second place

GERMANY BY ULLI JENTSCH

Main organisation	ALTERNATIVE FÜR DEUTSCHLAND (AfD) – ALTERNATIVE FOR GERMANY Founded 2013 to campaign against the European Union (against the Euro and for more national sovereignty). Changed to mainly anti-immigrant due to shift to the right
Political description	Anti-immigrant, far right
Leader(s)	Frauke Petry, Jörg Meuthen, Alexander Gauland, Beatrix von Storch, Bernd Höcke and Konrad Adam
Membership size	18,000
Parliamentary representation	2 seats in 751-seat European Parliament It started with 7 seats but five members later defected to the Euro-sceptic Alliance for Progress and Renewal (ALFA). Both AfD and ALFA are members of the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) group which includes the UK Conservatives! Seats in five State Parliaments (Thuringia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Hamburg and Bremen)
Vote in last national election	No national election since founding (the next is in the autumn of 2017) Polls forecast 8% for the AfD
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-EU, anti-Muslim
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	Even though AfD had a split in July 2015, former AfD chief Bernd Lucke and the liberal economic tendency of AfD founding ALFA, it embraced the anti-immigrant Pegida movement and gained seats in two west German regional elections (Bremen, Hamburg)
Prospects for 2016	2016 will see a growing influence of AfD at both regional and national levels. It expects big increases in its vote Continuing controversy over immigration is fuelling its politics which are becoming more and more radical

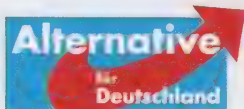


CENTRAL WESTERN EUROPE FAR RIGHT



FPO

AUSTRIA: Freedom Party of Austria



GERMANY: Alternative für Deutschland



SWITZERLAND: Schweizerische Volkspartei



SWITZERLAND BY ULLI JENTSCH

Main organisation	SVP (SCHWEIZERISCHE VOLKSPARTEI/ SWISS PEOPLE'S PARTY) Founded 1971
Political description	Anti-immigrant populists, anti-European Union (EU), anti-Muslim
Leader(s)	Toni Brunner (president), Christoph Blocher, Guy Parmelin and Ueli Maurer (ministers), Roger Köppel (chief editor of Weltwoche) The SVP has only 16.9% female representation in the national parliament (Nationalrat) which is the lowest of all parties represented
Membership size	90,000
Parliamentary representation	65 of 200 seats
Vote in last national election	In the last national election on 18 October 2015, the SVP received 734,171 votes (29.43 %) and is the strongest party in the national parliament
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, anti-EU. So-called Volksinitiativen (popular petitions) against immigration, against minarets (2009) and lately against migration by workers from EU countries into Switzerland
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	The SVP received its best election result in history in the October 2015 ballot, regaining the small losses it suffered in 2011. This makes the SVP one of the most successful far right populist parties in Europe. People like Köppel help change the SVP's image, attracting new voters. The 2015 election campaign of all the contending parties was dominated by the SVP's main agenda (anti-immigration, anti-EU). The SVP has two members in the Swiss government (7 members)
Prospects for 2016	A new SVP initiative "against mass immigration" was announced in December 2015. The party wants to keep to cut down immigration both by refugees and by EU-workers which could severely damage relations with the EU. Immigration by EU workers does not harm the Swiss but is unpopular in some regions



Toni Brunner



WESTERN EUROPE

FRANCE BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	FRONT NATIONAL (FN) Founded 1972 advocating "France for the French"
Political description	Far right populist with roots into the traditional extreme right, anti-European Union (EU), anti-immigration and Islamophobic
Leader(s)	Marine Le Pen (b.1968)
Membership size	51,000
Parliamentary representation	2 seats in 577-seat Lower House of French National Assembly 2 seats in the Upper House of French National Assembly 23 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	December 2015 Regional elections 2nd round: 6,820,477 votes, 27.10%
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Islam, anti-EU
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	Marine Le Pen succeeded in ousting her father without that causing any major split in the party which reached its electoral peak during the year
Prospects for 2016	2016 is a year of campaigning for the Spring 2017 presidential election. The only hurdle the party can face is that of justice, with several pending lawsuits for alleged breaches of the law on the financing of political campaigns

LUXEMBOURG (GRAND-DUCHY) BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	SOZIAL DEMOKRATESCH VOLLEKSPARTEI » (SDV) Founded April 2015
Political description	Far right populist, anti-European Union (EU), anti-immigration. Wants to be a copy of the French FN
Leader(s)	Businessman and maverick politician Nico Castiglia, aged 54, a former member of Pirate Party
Membership size	30-40 at first conference in April 2015
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	Not contested yet
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Islam, anti-EU. Tries to imitate left-wing slogans of "Social solidarity" and fighting against "cannibalistic globalisation"
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	Received a lot of media attention at the outset
Prospects for 2016	With the mainstream ultra-conservative and Eurosceptic party, the Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei (ADR), having 3 parliamentary seats and 6.6% of the vote, there is no real future for the extreme-right

(top, left to right)
Geert Wilders,
Tom Van Grieken
(bottom)
Marine Le Pen
Nico Castiglia



NETHERLANDS BY JEROEN BOSCH

Main organisation	FREEDOM PARTY (PVV) Founded in 2004 as a one-member, one-seat party by its founder Geert Wilders, in the Dutch Parliament, as an anti-Islam campaign. After elections in 2006, eight parliamentarians joined him
Political description	Right-wing populist
Leader(s)	Geert Wilders
Membership size	One: Geert Wilders
Parliamentary representation	12 seats in 150-seat Dutch Parliament 9 seats in the 75-seat Dutch Senate 4 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	September 2012 elections: 10%, 950,263 votes
Main areas of activity	Anti-Islam, anti-immigration, anti-European Union, anti-Establishment, anti-Euro
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	After the 2012 elections, the PVV lost three seats in parliament when MPs quit the party but Wilders still set the public agenda in the refugee crisis. In the polls, the Freedom Party remains by far the biggest party
Prospects for 2016	In 2016, the PVV will probably keep polling high, placing itself in a good position for the next national elections in March 2017

**BELGIUM** BY WIM HAELSTERMAN

Main organisation	VLAAMS BELANG (FLEMISH INTEREST) Founded in 1978 (as Vlaams Blok) advocating Flemish independence and nationalism and a "national-solidarist" society
Political description	Far right with numerous former openly fascist, Nazi collaborationist and nationalist links
Leader(s)	Tom Van Grieken (chairman) Philip Dewinter (MP) and Gerolf Annemans (MEP)
Membership size	16,000 approx. (own figure)
Parliamentary representation	3 seats in 150-seat Federal Parliament 9 seats in 124-seat Flemish Parliament 1 seat in 89-seat Brussels Parliament 1 seat in 751-seat European Parliament (21 Belgian seats)
Vote in last national election	Result 2014 elections: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 5.9% of the Dutch-speaking electorate (Federal elections) – 232,812 votes ● 5.6% of the Dutch-speaking electorate (Regional elections – Brussels) – 3,006 votes ● 5.9% of the electorate (Regional elections – Flanders) – 248,840 votes ● 6.9% of the Dutch-speaking electorate (European elect.) – 284,891 votes All these elections were held on the same day – 25 May 2014
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Muslim, spreading ultra-conservative ideas, nationalist, Eurosceptic.
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	Ever since the dramatic outcome of the 2014 elections the once extremely successful party (2004: approx. 30% of all Flemish votes) seems to have vanished. The new leadership has not yet been able to turn the tide
Prospects for 2016	2016 will be another year dedicated to the fight for survival. Perhaps the party can profit from the terror-psychosis but even that is far from sure

WESTERN EUROPE FAR RIGHT**BELGIUM: Vlaams Belang****FRANCE: Front National****LUXEMBOURG: Sozial Demokratesch Vollekspartei****NETHERLANDS: Freedom Party**

MEDITERRANEAN

SPAIN BY SANDRA CORTÉS

Main organisation	HOGAR SOCIAL MADRID (HSM)
Political description	Nazi, populist, anti-immigration, anti-refugee and Spanish nationalist
Leader(s)	Melissa Ruiz
Membership size	Approx. 100 activists
Parliamentary representation	No elected representatives
Vote in last national election	None – it is not (yet) a political party
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant, giving social aid to Spanish people only, Spanish nationalism, anti-Catalan and anti-Basque separatism
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	HSM is now the most important and popular organisation on the far right. It has provoked much media debate about social care for immigrants by collecting food for Spanish people only, giving accommodation to people in squatted buildings, despite previous evictions by the police. The Spanish media regularly invites HSM to take part in TV and radio programmes The movement gathered around 800 nazis in Madrid in September, supported by CasaPound (Italy) and Golden Dawn (Greece) activists. It has, dangerously, been able to unite militants from different organisations on Spain's fractious and severely fragmented far right. It is also supported by nazi hooligans from Real Madrid, Atlético de Madrid, Valencia CF and other teams
Prospects for 2016	The HSM will continue its campaign of social care for Spaniards only and against refugees and immigrants and will try to organise conferences and international meetings with similar European organizations. Madrid City Council announced in November that it would charge the HSM for incitement to hatred. The outcome remains to be seen

PORTUGAL BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	PARTIDO NACIONAL RENOVADOR (PNR) Founded 2000. Promotes "Nation and Identity", Family, Work, National Independence and the historical patrimony of Portugal
Political description	Far right populist, arch-conservative on traditional values, anti-European Union (EU), anti-immigration and Islamophobic. Closer to the fascist opposition to Salazar's postwar dictatorship than to Salazarism proper
Leader(s)	José de Almeida e Vasconcelos Pinto Coelho (b.1960)
Membership size	A few hundred
Parliamentary representation	No elected representatives
Vote in last national election	October 2015 Parliamentary elections 27,269 votes (0.5%) Contested only 7 City councils in 2013, no seats
Main areas of activity	Family values, anti-immigration, anti-Islam, anti-EU
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	PNR is unable to contest the January 2016 Presidential election but gained 12,263 votes compared with the 2014 Euro-election. Remains a fringe party
Prospects for 2016	Will hold its 6th National Convention on 23-24 April, the eve of commemorations of the 1974 overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship. No breakthrough in sight for the PNR, however

REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	ELAM (ETHNIKO LAIKO METOPO)
Political description	Fascist, Cypriot offshoot of Greek Golden Dawn. Founded 2008. Close to the international fascist Alliance for Peace and Freedom bloc
Leader(s)	Christos Christou
Membership size	Unknown but core activists at demonstrations number around 100
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	Legislative election, May 2011: 1.08% (4,354 votes) This rose to 2.69% (6,957 votes) in 2014 European election
Main areas of activity	Opposes a Federal solution to the partition of Cyprus and is strongly anti-Turkish/anti-Islam It describes its ideology as "popular and social nationalism" and promotes Greek nationalism Its manifesto says the movement wants a zero immigration policy and an "Hellenistic" education
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	On 27 March 2015, three members of ELAM were arrested in connection with a violent incident in Limassol, when they disrupted an event on the Cyprus problem, attended by former Turkish Cypriot leader, Mehmet Ali Talat ELAM hosted a delegation from the French fascist GUD during the summer of 2015
Prospects for 2016	ELAM hopes to gain a seat in the May 2016 parliamentary elections This is possible because the threshold is only 1.8%



GREECE BY PANAYOTE DIMITRAS

Main organisation	GOLDEN DAWN Founded 1987, advocating a "Nation-Race of Eternal Hellenism"
Political description	Nazi
Leader(s)	Nikolaos Michaloliakos
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	18 seats in 300-seat Greek Parliament 3 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	September 2015 elections: 7%, 379, 581 votes
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, antisemitic, anti-Muslim, homophobic and anti-democratic. It is a violent organisation
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	It lost 9,000 votes in the 2015 national elections and its leaders are on trial for a variety of crimes, including running a criminal organisation. Despite that, Golden Dawn is still the third force in Greek politics
Prospects for 2016	2016 is likely to see ongoing consolidation of Golden Dawn's strength and influence

**MEDITERRANEAN FAR RIGHT****SPAIN:** Hogar Social Madrid**PORTUGAL:** Partido Nacional Renovador**GREECE:** Golden Dawn**ITALY:** Lega Nord**ITALY** BY LUCA ORFEO

Main organisation	LEGA NORD (LN) Lega Nord was founded in 1991 as a federation of several regionalist parties in northern and central Italy, most of which had arisen in the 1980s
Political description	Xenophobic, regional separatist, populist
Leader(s)	Matteo Salvini Key officials: Roberto Maroni (President of Lombardia Region) and Luca Zaia (President of Veneto Region)
Membership size	122,000 (2013)
Parliamentary representation	18 MPs in 630-seat Lower Chamber 18 members in 315-seat Senate 5 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	National elections 2013 Lower Chamber) 1,390, 156 votes – 4.08% Senate 1,328,555 votes – 4.33% European elections 2014: 1.688.197 votes 6,15% 5 MEP
Main areas of activity	Electioneering and leafleting, street stalls, very high media presence (both mainstream and new media) concentrating on xenophobic, anti-immigrant, anti-Islam and anti-mainstream themes
Was 2015 a good year for the organisation?	2015 was a good year for the LN and its leader Matteo Salvini. Early in the year, LN candidate Luca Zaia easily won the regional elections in Veneto despite internal factional warfare with Verona's mayor Flavio Tosi. The LN now rules Italy's two richest regions in coalition with the centre-right. Through successful populist anti-migrant and anti-Euro propaganda, Salvini made decisive strides towards leadership of the centre-right. Polls suggest he is the second most-respected political leader in Italy (after PM Matteo Renzi). Salvini's attempt to expand towards the previously hated South led him to organise several public events in cooperation with ultra-right movements like the fascist Forza Nuova (FN) and the nazi CasaPound (CP).
Prospects for 2016	Despite these positive results, LN and Salvini's prospects for 2016 are mixed. First, the LN, which lost most of its older leadership due to corruption and embezzlement investigations in 2012 has not yet created a new generation of local administrators. At the moment, the party (and the centre-right coalition) does not have one single candidate for the 2016 local elections scheduled for all the major cities (Milan, Turin, Rome, Naples). Furthermore, translating media coverage and social network "likes" into tangible political success (aka votes) will be the political challenge for the LN. Also, Salvini's bid to become the leader of the right has not been fully accomplished, facing yet another possible comeback by ex-PM Silvio Berlusconi. Finally, while polls put the LN at between 12-15%, this could well be its top score because of a lack political space to grow in. All possible roles are already occupied: "structural oppositional contenders" by Beppe Grillo's M5S, the "moderate right" by Berlusconi's FI, and "hardcore far right" by the already mentioned extremists of CP and FN.



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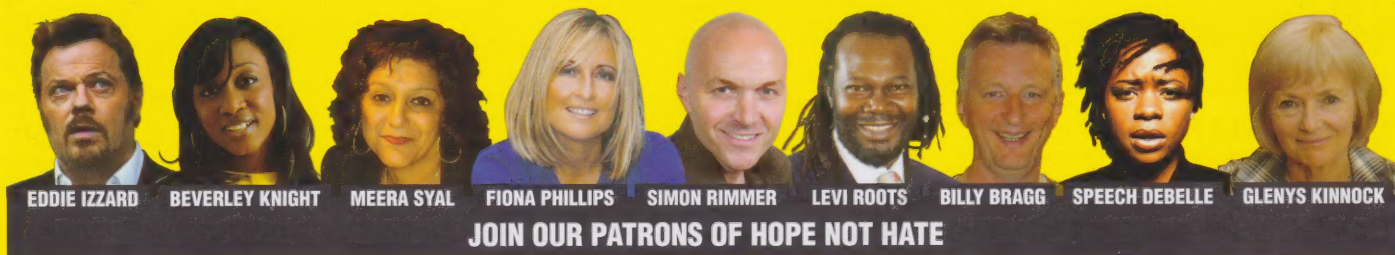


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